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The Canadian Historical Association

Report of the Annual Meeting held in the
City of Toronto

MAY 27 - 28, 1927

With Historical Papers

Published by the Department of Public Archives
Ottawa

F5000.Ca6

1927

The Canadian Historical Association

Presented at the Annual Meeting held in the
City of Toronto

MAY 27-28, 1927

70th Annual Report

Published by the Association in 1927
Ottawa

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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ANNUAL MEETING

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

THE HISTORIAN'S PROBLEM

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE M. WRONG

Canada is so vast a country that, unless we who are interested in its history take some trouble to meet in conference, we shall be ignorant of what each of us is doing and shall in consequence lack co-operation. The anchor of a nation is in its traditions. Every great achievement is due to sacrifice and those who are most conscious of what their heritage has cost are the most likely to value it. People in other parts of Canada sometimes wonder at the depth of national feeling in French Canada. We find its secret in a long story of labour and sacrifice reaching back for more than three hundred years. English-speaking Canada has a shorter story, it is hardly yet conscious of the quality of its founders, and for this reason it still lacks the sense of unity in tradition which makes the Scot and the Englishman proud to be known as such.

During more than half a century the study of history has been going through a period of reconstruction. The writers of the eighteenth century were content to tell a story of events as they happened, without a too ardent pressing into causes, but this will not do for our age. We must interpret the setting and the spiritual sources of events. Consequently we have now many aspects of life related to history. We have pre-history, the study of what man was before anything was written about him; we have archaeology which links what he made with his hands to the mind which inspired the doing of it; we have geography, the interpretation of the scene of his life and its influence on his activities; we have philosophy and psychology linked with history to show man's nature and outlook, to explain his motives, to determine whether he is the mechanical expression of his physical surroundings, moving with action and reaction like the swing of the pendulum of the clock, or something more. Croce tells us that history and philosophy are the same thing. The last and most comprehensive ally in the study of man is anthropology, to which man becomes a phenomenon to be interpreted as one whole in his physical structure, his mental outlook, and the mode in which all this has found expression in every age and in every part of the world.

The historian may well feel awe as he stands in the presence of these bases of his work. It was an unhappy remark of the historian Freeman that history is past politics. It is no more true of the past than of the present that life can be expressed in terms of politics. We may find three stages in the passage to the highest plane of historical interpretation. The first is the making sure of the facts. On this we are now spending great labour as the accumulations in archives reveal. This is the foun-

dation of all history, but it is only a foundation. We must pass to a second stage, to the understanding and the interpreting of the soul of a people on the basis of these facts. We must exercise imagination and try to see things in the past as the actors saw them, try not to read into their minds what was not there, or to fail to understand what was there. We are always in danger of underestimating or exaggerating the past. While, on the one hand, ignorant people care nothing about it, and never inquire as to the causes of the present, there is the other tendency to think that a simple event of two hundred years ago has a deeper significance than has its parallel of to-day. Imagination fastens upon a few figures to which it gives heroic stature and it thus tends to make of the king Alfreds, the Drakes and the Washingtons something more than human. History is, however, the enemy of hero worship. It is the interpretation of life and it has no hero to magnify, no villain to denounce, and no cause to support. It has, however, the right to discriminate between the true and the false and to pass judgments on what has made or marred a nation or an individual. In writing history sympathy with one side or the other is no proof of partisanship. It becomes dangerous only when it distorts the judgment and leads to a fear of truth which may discredit the favoured side. A too ardent nationalism is the enemy of historical truth.

The third problem of the historian is that of presentation. It is simply true that readers of history are now in revolt against the dull chronicle, against the mere record of a succession of facts which lacks selection and emphasis upon the salient. The writing of history is not the drawing of a colourless outline; it means painting with the vivid tints of nature. It is something to have acquired a scrupulous sense of facts, but there is a danger in archives, in note books crowded with facts, in the desire to find something new, which may upset the verdicts of the past. Thucydides gives speeches which were never delivered but he is none the less a sound historian. Research is only a preliminary in the writing of history. Fact is the touch-stone but history is much more than a succession of events for causation is not to be found in the mere succession. An imaginative drama may give a more illuminating view of a man's character than a record of all the facts of his life. To be effective history must be expressed with a sense of proportion in a style that makes clear and vivid what it touches and that reveals understanding of human motives.

There are problems for historians to answer which he will not find solved in the Archives. Why does a nation's culture change? What produces its literature? Why do civilizations rise and why do they decay? Do the facts show that there is this law of action and reaction in human life? Can we discover the principles which determine the character and destiny of nations? Can we determine whether democracy or aristocracy gives the better form of government? Is there a law or even a fact of progress and what is progress? Does it mean an advance, a deeper understanding in the average man's conception of life and if so how does this express itself? Can we discover what determines human action; economic pressure, religion, national feeling, class outlook? Man is the real problem. He is fickle; he is immature; as anthropology is showing us he is governed by irrational traditions. He is himself the greatest obstacle to exact interpretations in history, and perhaps this is why it can never be finally written.

Truth is exciting and interesting and to set out to find the truth about man's past is the most fascinating of all tasks. To-day we have new social forces of which we are only beginning to understand the meaning. Scientific discoveries produce unexpected results in history. Lord Bryce said that the knowledge of quinine might have changed the course of history in the Middle Ages. Italy and Germany were united in the Holy Roman Empire, but the German Emperors could not live in Italy for climatic reasons and this difficulty quinine could have overcome with the possible result of a great Italo-German Empire. This may seem far-fetched but it is unquestionable that the invention of the telegraph has altered the whole course of diplomatic history. Formerly ambassadors in distant countries had to face crises by their own discretion on the spot, but now ambassadors in all parts of the world can act on daily instructions from their own government. In consequence politics have been unified, on a world scale, with one deplorable result of a world war.

The facility of movement by the automobile is altering the character of our civilization. Many people now travel for long distances who in former times would never have left home and they acquire a changed outlook on life. The radio is enabling the humblest peasant to listen to the accents of the king as he speaks. The cinema enables all the world to see him lounging with his friends on the deck of a ship. In consequence reserves, formerly rigid, have been broken down, and with this have gone some of the reverence for rank and authority which has played so vital a part in our society. These things require interpretation in our own day and other factors in other days require similar interpretation as forces in history.

What a task is that which history sets itself! The historian is a man and may say with the Roman historian that nothing human is alien to him and his field is to interpret the incalculable fertility of man's life. We may be well assured that until man has become superman there will not be a science of history, for only a being more than man can read all the influences which mould his conduct. There is no uniformity in his actions, there is no single motive, no law of reason, to which he is always obedient. When he may seem to be seeking only economic well-being a gust of passion will lead him to risk economic ruin in pursuit of some will-of-the-wisp. If we ask with the Psalmist, "What is man that Thou are mindful of him?" we must answer that we do not know, but that this only stimulates us to further search. He is often false to himself and so false to others that perhaps more than half of his written testimony about them is untrue. How in this medley to find truth? That is the historian's absorbing problem.

REPORT OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

The year has been one of quiet but steady growth, brought to a close by the annual meeting at Toronto, the success of which was very gratifying to the committee. The program naturally centred around the theme of Confederation, which is so much in the thoughts of Canadians on this sixtieth anniversary of the birth of the Dominion. These papers, together with those presented to the Royal Society of Canada on the same general subject, and the publications to be issued by the National Committee on the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, will constitute a permanent record of more than usual interest and value.

Among other activities of the year coming within the broad field of Canadian history may be noted the giving of a gold medal to the Royal Society by Mr. J. B. Tyrrell of Toronto, to be known as the "Tyrrell Medal," and to be awarded annually for the most meritorious work in Canadian history. The *Canadian Historical Review* and the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* have an admirable series of papers and notes to show in the year's numbers, and it is very gratifying to know that the association and its members are now closely identified with the work of these important periodicals.

Perhaps, however, the most interesting event of the year in the field of Canadian history was the unveiling of a memorial to David Thompson, over his grave in Mount Royal Cemetery, Montreal. An account of the ceremony and the addresses delivered on the occasion will be found in the following pages.

DAVID THOMPSON MONUMENT

What amends posterity can offer for past neglect were made to the memory of a great explorer in the Mount Royal Cemetery, in Montreal on Monday, May 23, at noon. Seventy years ago in 1857 the body of David Thompson was laid there in an unmarked grave which was not even his own property. He died in extreme poverty and neglect and yet he was one of Canada's great men. By the efforts of the Canadian Historical Association which met with generous response a fund had been collected to rear a monument over the grave of the man who was the first to explore and to map large sections of the Canadian west, who discovered the sources of the Columbia river and indeed of the Mississippi and explored the Columbia from its source to its mouth. It was he who annexed the Oregon territory to the British Empire though this did not prove a permanent acquisition. During ten years after this he played an active part in determining the frontier between Canada and the United States from lake Superior eastward.

The memorial is a simple but dignified fluted pillar, surmounted by a sextant, and with its base is about nine feet in height. It is the work of the sculptor, Henri Hébert, R.C.A., who was present at the ceremony.

In the absence of the President, Professor George M. Wrong, Mr. Laurence J. Burpee, Chairman of the Management Committee of the Canadian Historical Association, presided. After explaining the purpose of the meeting and drawing attention to the fine quality of Mr. Hébert's work, Mr. Burpee called upon Sir Frederick Williams-Taylor, General Manager of the Bank of Montreal, to unveil the monument. Sir Frederick Williams-Taylor spoke as follows:—

One of the truest heroes in the history of our country, a history rich in heroism, is the man we honour to-day. Poor, ignored, neglected in his old age, David Thompson died among us unnoticed, and for seventy years has lain forgotten in a nameless grave. By raising this belated monument we not only proclaim the high rank of Thompson on our heroic roll, but we acknowledge and wipe out, so far as now we can, the stain of past neglect.

The long eclipse of David Thompson's greatness has been largely due to one of the noblest elements in that greatness—a quality as admirable as it is rare—a magnificent modesty, a self-restraint amounting to self-effacement. Even the name of Thompson river, till now his chief memorial, was given not by himself but by his friend Simon Fraser. He lacked "pushfulness" when his personal interests were concerned, but in carrying to success the Herculean enterprise of his life he was "pushful" to the highest degree.

Intrepid, strenuous, indomitable, he overcame every obstacle with a concentrated, prudent, and persistent enthusiasm. Confronting all the perils of the Unknown, taking his life in his hand, forcing his way through mountains by untrodden paths, running furious rapids in improvised canoes, deserted by followers and guides, threatened by hostile and suspicious tribesmen, by cold and starvation, his energy and courage never failed or faltered.

Our blindness to the magnitude of his achievement is also partly due to this, that he was chiefly known, when known at all, as a "map-maker." The word has a dull and sedentary sound. He was a "surveyor," we say

—and to many the word recalls a man prosaically drawing a chain across the countryside and measuring straight lines from point to point.

Indeed, we have surveyors still among us whose hardships, adventures and hair-breadth escapes, taken all in the day's work, if told, would thrill the dullest imagination and make the slowest heart beat fast.

A great part of Thompson's fame as a map-maker has been withheld from him by other map-makers, who have constantly reproduced his work without in any way acknowledging its creator.

With little exaggeration we may describe the maps and sketches of this prince of map-makers, this king of surveyors, as having been drawn with his own life blood. In his great map of the whole vast territory he covered, from Hudson bay to the Pacific, we see condensed the toils and travels and adventures of twenty-eight indomitable years.

And let us not forget that he did all this while earning his bread as a trader.

David Thompson was born within the shadow of Westminster Abbey on the 25th of January, 1770. After seven years in a charity school he was apprenticed at the age of fourteen to the Hudson's Bay Company, and spent thirteen years in its service, followed by fifteen years under the rival North West Company. His day's work was to trade with Indians for furs, and he did it well—all the better for his sympathetic understanding of the red man and his tact in dealing with him.

But he was not content to do merely the duty required of him. He did far more. Travelling on foot and in canoe at least 50,000 miles within three decades, under circumstances most unfavourable for study and writing, wherever he went he not only took careful astronomical and other observations but recorded them as fully and methodically as if he were sitting comfortably at a college desk. The forty volumes of his manuscript notes, now preserved at Toronto, are in themselves a prodigious achievement.

With Celtic imagination and the idealism of his pure Welsh blood he combined a fine practicality and accuracy probably instilled by his English training. With the vision and daring of the sanguine explorer was combined the cool calculation of a mathematical scientist.

As one of his companions said, "Never mind his Bunyan-like face and cropped hair, he has a powerful mind and a singular faculty of picture-making. He can create a wilderness and people it with warring savages, or climb the Rocky mountains with you in a snowstorm, so clearly that with shut eyes you hear the crack of the gun or feel the snow-flakes on your cheeks."

Yet his records are no mere collection of travellers' tales for the amusement of posterity, they are a gold mine of exact information for posterity's practical benefit.

His maps were perfected by a passion for accuracy, a genius for taking pains. Every traveller since has found them an almost infallible guide. All surveyors following his footsteps and checking his work are astonished to find how very little they can improve on the results he secured without modern instruments. Many of the familiar features on the map of Canada to-day were put there by David Thompson alone, over a century ago.

Without exact surveys and accurate maps, it would have been impossible to open and allot our western plains and valleys for the homes of our present and future millions, or to develop that vast land with roads and railways. Remembering this, we begin to realize the heavy debt of grati-

tude our country owes to David Thompson. He worked not merely for his family and his employers but for the increase of knowledge—and not so much for his own time as for the future. He was resolved that posterity should reap the rich fruit of his labour, and we have been reaping it ever since.

When the prairies and forests of the west were nothing but a hunting ground, with prophetic eye he saw in them what they have since become, one of the most valuable possessions of our Empire.

It was David Thompson who discovered the source of the Columbia river, and, before he had done with it, left not a mile of its long and devious course unmapped. He was not only the path-finder across the Continental Divide between the Columbia and Athabaska, he explored the head waters of the Mississippi among many other rivers, and the shores of lake Superior. After his western work was done, he spent ten eventful years as British representative in laying down the international boundary from lake of the Woods to the St. Lawrence.

Had he returned to England and published the story of his travels, he would certainly have been hailed as one of the world's greatest explorers. But that was not his way. Retiring first to Williamstown, and finally to Longueuil, he continued his simple life, and earned a modest income by occasional surveys till his eyesight failed. Then, his savings exhausted by paying other men's debts he fell on evil days. A church at Williamstown, to which he had lent a considerable sum, could not pay. Deeply religious as he was, he forgave the whole debt. One by one his little possessions vanished. He had to sell his beloved instruments, to pawn his very coat for food, and when a friend lent him half-a-crown he thanked God for the great relief.

The greatest and final relief came on the 10th of February, 1857, soon after his 86th birthday.

Rejoicing that his fame has at last emerged from undeserved obscurity, I now have the privilege of unveiling this monument to mark the resting-place of that great Welsh-Canadian, the illustrious David Thompson.

When the monument was unveiled, Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, himself, like Thompson, a surveyor who has journeyed in regions surveyed by Thompson, and who has also edited Thompson's Journals in a notable volume issued by the Champlain Society, spoke as follows:—

We have come here to honour a man whose body has lain nameless in this grave for seventy years; of whose unique service to North America little might now be known but for the curiosity of surveyors who, in country he was the first accurately to survey, had greatly benefited by his surveys. David Thompson was a reserved, indeed a shy man, who spoke little of himself. I have spent many days and nights pouring over the foolscap notebooks which he filled in the midst of the hard labours of fur trading, but have not detected in them a single boastful word. He knew that he had done much notable work, but there is no vainglory in the summary of it, written after he had reached the Pacific ocean in July, 1811.

"Thus I have fully completed the survey of this part of North America from sea to sea; and by almost innumerable astronomical observations have determined the position of the Mountains, Lakes and Rivers, and other remarkable places on this continent; the maps of all of which have been drawn, and laid down in geographical position, being now the work of twenty-seven years."

A man who watched the stars by night sometimes looked into the future by day. Thompson was the first scientifically to search the sources of the Mississippi. Apropos the year 1798, he wrote:—

“Whatever the Nile has been in ancient times in Arts and Arms, the noble valley of the Mississippi bids fair to be, and, excluding its pompous, useless Pyramids and other works, its anglo-saxon population will far exceed the Egyptians in all the arts of civilized life, and in a pure religion. Although these are the predictions of a solitary traveller unknown to the world, they will surely be verified (1798).”

Thompson's last years were lived in the shelter of his son-in-law, W. R. Scott, at Longueuil. The story of his poverty in this city of Montreal is one of the most pathetic of men who have deserved well of their country and have fallen on unappreciative times. For sheer unintentional revelation of nobility in distress one doubts whether anything in all literature is more poignant than his journal at the end of April, 1943. Under cruel conditions he had to seek a house against the first of May. On April 29 he wrote:—

“I am the morrow seventy-three years old; but so destitute that I have not wherewith to buy a loaf of bread. May the pity of the Almighty be on me.”

He had served the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company as no other man ever served them for twenty-eight years, and he wrote on his seventy-third birthday:—

“Being invited to dinner by Sir George Simpson, I took the maps of the Boundary Line with me; but he did not wish to give anything for them. Returned in a dark, rainy, bad night.”

White-bearded, feeble, poverty-stricken, almost blind he was brought here in old age and when he died not even a paragraph in the newspapers mentioned the passing of the greatest practical land geographer whom, I venture to think, the world has produced. A more devoted, a more efficient scientist never lived.

It is questionable whether anywhere else is to be found as full, detailed and scientific an account of one man's daily exertions in contact with the phenomena of nature, as is contained in David Thompson's more than forty notebooks. On no continent has any other man, by his own unaided labour, left such abounding evidence of his geographic genius as David Thompson placed on the map of North America, and set forth in his journals and “Narrative.” We sense Thompson's greatness when we compare the vacuous and shadowy map of North America accompanying Captain Cook's “Voyage to the Pacific Ocean,” which was drawn in the year Thompson arrived at Churchill, with the map which Thompson, from his own surveys, drew of the northern half of the same continent, a territory half the size of Europe.

He left a London charity school at fourteen years of age, already a mathematical scholar, whose learning was derived from books, the oldest of them published in 1655, and the most recent in 1716. He learned practical astronomy from Philip Turner, at Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan. At nineteen he took observations which placed the Post so accurately that, though its location on the map was changed several times by astronomers whose instrumental facilities were greater than his own, it is back to where he put it. That quality of accuracy was splendidly characteristic of all that he did. During twenty-eight years Thompson dwelt amidst barbarians, never at any place met with fifty other men who could read; and never saw a woman of his own race. From such an environment it is marvellous indeed that so much scientific attainment issued.

David Thompson the man is as worthy of our commemoration as David Thompson the scientist. What manner of man was he? So far as I have been able to learn, no portrait of him was ever made. Dr. Bigsby, British Secretary of the International Boundary Commission of 1816-26, has drawn Thompson's portrait in words:—

"He was plainly dressed, quiet and observant. His figure was short and compact, and his black hair was worn long all round and cut square [He was twenty-seven years in a land where no barbers were], as if by one stroke of the shears, just above the eyebrows. His complexion was of the gardener's ruddy brown, while the expression of deeply furrowed features was friendly and intelligent, but his cut-short nose gave him an odd look. . . . I might have spared the description of Mr. David Thompson by saying he greatly resembled Curran, the Irish orator."

There is a second testimony as to his appearance. It was my fortune to know David Thompson's daughter, Mrs. Shaw, and his granddaughter, Miss Shaw, who, some of you may like to know was matron at Bishop Strachan school in Toronto until she died a few years ago. Mrs. Shaw showed me a picture of John Bunyan and said it was as good a likeness of her father as if it had actually been taken of him.

We are not expressing funeral eulogies to-day, but, in some measure the gratitude of Canadians to one who lived and wrought in Canada for seventy-four years. Perhaps no surer proof of excellence of character is ever forthcoming than the so-called barbarians' estimate of the man who comes to them professing a superior civilization and religion. What did the Indians think of Thompson?

I know of no man whose intimate acquaintance with Indians covered so wide a territory, or included more tribal variations. Inside the territory bounded by Fort Churchill, Sault Ste. Marie, the Mississippi river, the mouth of the Columbia (in Oregon), Peace River Landing and Fort Chipewyan, on lake Athabasca, are about a million and a half square miles of land, within which he knew the Indians better than any other fur trader. Of all the white men they saw he alone, so far as I have been able to discover, refused to carry brandy for trade with the Indians, holding that it was bad business as well as immoral. His attitude towards the Indians is always that of a Christian gentleman. They came long distances to him for help; not merely because they believed his knowledge of the stars gave him some special power, but because they knew and trusted him as a man.

When he was seventeen he was a member of one of the first parties to make a long journey afoot across the plains. The company travelled from Manchester House, about forty miles above Battleford, southwest to about where Calgary is. The object was to induce the Piegan Indians to trade regularly with the Hudson's Bay Company. Thompson spent the winter in the tent of Old Chief Saukamappoo. From him he obtained the account of Indian warfare, going back to about 1730, when arrows with flint heads were used, and the Blackfoot had no horses, which is the completest description we have of native war activity on the eastern slope of the Rocky mountains in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Repeatedly Thompson remarks on the absence of missionaries. He was in the Northwest of America, never farther east than Sault Ste. Marie, from 1784 to 1812. There is not a sign that in all the sub-continent over which he was constantly travelling, any Protestant clergyman had ever appeared. Recurrently throughout his journal, when some danger had been passed, some heavy journey accomplished—and indeed he was in journeyings oft and perils also—he says "Thank good Providence." In all he has written—and roughly, his notebooks and "Narrative" contain over four million words, the equivalent of forty modern novels—not a line is inharmonious with that attitude of mind.

He suffered long and acutely when he was old, working sometimes without food, and, in midwinter, having no wood to burn. At the moment when the Governor General was glad to see him about the Oregon boundary dispute and the Foreign Office was gladly receiving his maps, he was compelled to ask a favour from Mr. Bonny, the baker, "who kindly promised to let us have bread a little longer." It was after this experience that he wrote his wonderful "Narrative." When it was finished he could not sell it. But his journal of April 30, 1850, contains this entry: "I am now eighty years of age. I thank God, through my Redeemer, for his goodness to me hitherto and pray the few days I have to live may be spent in piety and gratitude to him."

He married a half-breed girl when he was twenty-nine and she was fourteen. Five children were born in five different places in the west. Eight were born in the east. In old age, as in youth, Thompson was devoted to his wife—and she deserved his goodness.

His detestation of the liquor trade was unrelenting. Off Scotland in 1784 the captain of his ship was the victim of Dutch bootleggers on the high seas who sold a sample bottle of whisky in a case of undiluted water. His first trip with Indians, from Churchill to York, was hindered by their brandy-drinking. His account of putting kegs of liquor on wild horses carried the long distance from Rainy lake to the mountains, so that the beasts might run off and be lost, is a most entertaining as well as authentic story of the first prohibitionist in British Columbia.

I am aware, of course, that it is a large claim for David Thompson that he was the greatest practical land geographer the world has produced. Perhaps only a small proportion of mankind can become enthusiastic about a map; and one who has received so much advantage from his work may be prejudiced about Thompson. If the evidence that would deny to Thompson first place among geographers is available, I do not know where to look for it.

The most intrepid early explorers of America left maps of their travels, which have become historical memorials—nothing more. Thompson laid down routes which are found in the most modern maps. He erected the first building in Idaho and Montana and his surveys in those states, preserved at Washington, were used by the United States Government—and still are.

He recorded his surveys in books which may be read to all generations; and their scientific information can be tested with remarkably satisfying results. For instance, one can travel in a canoe on the Kootenay river in British Columbia, Montana, and Idaho, and know every feature of the stream, its banks, and the surrounding country before coming to them by using Thompson's maps. Perhaps I may be allowed to say that, for the unveiling of the Thompson monument at Bonner's Ferry last summer, I plotted a map of the Kootenay river from his journal, on the scale of an inch to the mile, and that, from it, was located unerringly his landing place and the camp where he traded with the Flatheads. His observation comprehended the birds in their flight—as to which he gives us much curious information—and the mountains in their height. His estimate of the altitude of mount Nelson, near which on Lake Windermere, he first wintered in 1807-8, is within a hundred feet of the latest measurement.

It was this almost uncanny accuracy in a map maker of whom they had never heard which astonished Dr. Dawson and his assistant when we were surveying in the Kootenay mountains in 1883, and provoked the search for our mysterious helper, the latest phase of which is our presence here.

When the Canadian Government sent explorers to the prairie country in 1857, the best map they carried was Thompson's.

It was my lot for sixteen years to make surveys for the Geological Survey of Canada, over a considerable portion of the territory whose natural routes of travel Thompson surveyed and laid down—from the Kootenays to lake Athabasca and to Fort Churchill including Reindeer lake, where he spent one of the severest winters known in Canada. When I checked his observations, measured his portages, and observed the features of the land which he noticed—I found his extraordinary thoroughness and accuracy magnificently conspicuous.

In 1896, for example, in the Muskrat Country, roundabout those parts of the Saskatchewan where Thompson learned his practical astronomy from Philip Turner, the only worth-while map which the Canadian Government could supply was Thompson's, dated 1813.

The treaty of Paris, 1783, fixed the boundary from the northwest of the lake of the Woods to the headwaters of the Mississippi. It was then thought that the Mississippi rose farther north than the lake of the Woods. The Northwest Company had several posts to the westward of lake Superior and in 1797 they instructed Thompson to determine their location. In the early spring of 1798, he ascended to Red river and crossed over the height of land to the region in which it was known the Mississippi arose. He located the northernmost source at Turtle lake and from that lake descended the river as far as Sandy lake, whence he went across the height of land to a tributary of the St. Louis which enters lake Superior where Duluth now is, from which point he surveyed six hundred and seventeen miles of lake Superior coast line to Sault Ste. Marie.

Seven years after Thompson's survey the United States Government sent Zebulon Pike to determine the sources of the Mississippi. In mid-winter Pike located the source farther south, forty miles from Thompson's location. In 1828 Governor Cass did not come within twenty miles of it and it was only in 1840 that Schoolcraft reported that lake Itasca was the ultimate source, half a degree south of Turtle lake, named by Thompson while the ice was still in it. It was only in this century that the Minnesota Historical Society announced that a brook leading into Itasca is the primary father of the Father of Waters. Thompson's estimate of the height of the Mississippi source above ocean level was within fifty-six feet of the most recent ascertainment. He calculated it by way of descending it to Sandy lake, by ascent to the height of land and descent to lake Superior by the St. Louis river to where Duluth now stands. Thompson's scientific knowledge of the headwaters of rivers which empty into the Atlantic, Hudson's bay, the Arctic, the Pacific and the gulf of Mexico has never been approached by that of any other man.

Thompson had an important share as member of the International Boundary Commission of 1816-26, following the Treaty of Ghent, which surveyed the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, and the Rainy River Valley, to the northwest angle of the lake of the Woods. In 1898 the United States Government published his fifty-five sheets of the map of the Canadian side of this boundary. They are on the scale of an inch to a mile, and would occupy about seventy-five feet of wall space. Incidentally, I believe this is the only governmental recognition that has been paid to Thompson's distinction as a geographer. Some day, perhaps, the Canadian Government and people will venture to magnify more than has yet been the case, the greatness that has been welded into their own history. I hope

to be able to go over some of that work, as he set it forth in his journal, this summer, or next and possibly to go over the whole of it in due course.

Thompson travelled, and surveyed, taking almost innumerable astro-nomic observations, and laying down his results on the maps, the water routes from Cornwall in Ontario, where the United States first touches the St. Lawrence, up the St. Lawrence, the shores of lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron and Superior, over the Grand Portage to the lake of the Woods, down the English and Winnipeg rivers, across lake Winnipeg, to York Factory and Fort Churchill. He found a new route from Churchill to lake Athabasca. He ascended the Saskatchewan and Athabasca rivers repeatedly, crossed the Great Divide, by the Howse and Athabasca passes which he had discovered, and traversed the whole length of the Columbia river to the Pacific ocean.

Over Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia of the Canadian provinces: over New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon of the United States, he journeyed and observed, traded and recorded, before man could travel faster than by horse on land or by sail upon the sea.

It might be useful, some time, to search for an explanation of the lack of recognition of Thompson during his life, and of his near oblivion after death. Simon Fraser, with a better eye than Thompson's other friends, named a river in British Columbia after him—Thompson never saw the Thompson, and he nowhere mentions that even so much honour was paid him. His work reached the Arrowsmiths, in London, who incorporated it in their maps with scant acknowledgment. But no public was on the look-out for unique geographical service between Hudson's bay and the Pacific ocean; and the Hudson's Bay Company, which he served for thirteen years, was singularly obtuse towards some of its own brighter glories and was already on the decline which finally caused its absorption by the North West Company. To this company Thompson went in 1797, because its partners, being themselves in British America and personally crossing and recrossing their territory, were of a larger mind.

The Hudson's Bay Company became known as the English company. The North West corporation was called the Canadian company. Thompson's greatest service, therefore, was primarily Canadian. It appeals to the Canadian who likes to think on distances, transportation and trade, as well as to those of us who care especially for Thompson's scientific renown. Nothing is more astonishing in commercial valour than the spectacle of this lone scientist, sometimes at peril of his life from savages, carrying his merchandise across the mountains to and from the far Columbia and over the Pacific-Arctic-Atlantic divides to remote Montreal.

No such private effort was ever attempted in the republic where the first crossing of the mountains was financed by public funds. Thompson was an imperishable prospector of the Canadian Pacific before its time, and unequalled consecrator of whatsoever has been lovely and of good report in the commercial emergence of this Dominion.

If, myself a humble geographer, I may venture to congratulate the Canadian Historical Association upon rendering this tangible homage to David Thompson, I do it with special warmth because it happens in the Diamond Jubilee Year of Confederation and may serve to widen our people's appreciation of the highest, most enduring treasures which enrich their own incomparable story."

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

BY C. N. COCHRANE

The annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association was held in Toronto on Friday and Saturday, May 27 and 28. Through the courtesy of the authorities of the University of Toronto, the sessions were held in Baldwin House, and visiting members enjoyed the hospitality of Hart House and other facilities of the university. On the evening of Friday, May 27, a dinner was held in the Great Hall of Hart House, in honour of visiting members of the association.

The general sessions began on Friday afternoon. After the usual business, Professor G. M. Wrong delivered the presidential address, and concluded with a review of significant publications on Canadian affairs during the past year. In his address, Mr. Wrong illustrated the difficulties which beset historical composition under modern conditions, and described the relations of history with allied subjects such as anthropology, economics, and philosophy.

The program of papers was arranged to be appropriate to the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation. Five papers dealt with the Confederation movement in the various provinces: The Maritimes, by D. C. Harvey, University of Manitoba; Quebec, The Abbé G. Robitaille, Joliette College, P.Q.; Ontario, F. H. Underhill, University of Saskatchewan; British Columbia, His Honour Judge Howay, New Westminster, B.C.; The Prairie Provinces, Chester Martin, University of Manitoba. The relation of British finance to the Confederation movement was described by R. G. Trotter, Queen's University. There followed on these, four papers on various problems of Canadian national life: *The Growth of Canadian National Feeling*, by W. S. Wallace, University of Toronto; *The French Canadians under Confederation*, by Senator N. A. Belcourt; *The Development of Imperial Relations*, by W. T. Waugh, McGill University; *Canadian Cultural Development*, by Dr. J. C. Webster, Shediac, N.B. These papers will be printed *in extenso* in the forthcoming annual report, which it is hoped will this year be ready for distribution in September. In the present article, not more than a brief summary of the addresses can be attempted.

THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Beginning the series of historical papers, Mr. Harvey outlined the part which early efforts for union among the Maritime provinces played in helping to bring about Confederation: "The maritimes, honest dupes of their own enthusiasm as much as misled by promises from Canadian statesmen, and disappointed with the realities of Confederation, put their faith in England as sure to enforce 'fair play', but like other minorities before them, they found that Imperial governments, like God, are on the side of the big battalions." He concluded with a plea that the promises of the time should be, in part at least, redeemed, as a means of correcting the depression now prevalent in the maritime provinces. Mr. Harvey's paper provoked a lively discussion.

In the absence of the Abbé Robitaille, Mr. Lanctot summarized the paper on Quebec, and this was followed by Mr. Underhill's paper on Ontario. Under the title *Some Aspects of Upper Canadian Radical Opinion in the Decade before Confederation* there was given an analysis of George Brown's *Globe*. The thesis was that the present "Progressive" movement on the prairies represents an unconscious revival of the ideas of two generations ago, when Upper Canada was still the "frontier", and the "intelligent yeomanry" of what is now Ontario fought the battle of the "plain people" against Big Business and especially against the railway octopus of Montreal. With the industrialization of Ontario since Confederation, the ideas of Brown have withered at the roots. "No good Torontonians of the present generation," the speaker said, "could possibly read the *Globe* of the '50's and '60's without a shudder.

Judge Howay's paper described at length the financial situation in British Columbia which led to the federation of that province with the nascent Dominion, and illustrated the petty and sordid motives which dominated at least some of the advocates of union.

In his paper on the Prairie Provinces, Mr. Martin showed that the original position of the Northwest Territories under the government at Ottawa was one of subjection to an unsympathetic imperial power. Without condoning the insurrections by Riel, he affirmed that no one except Riel combined popular support on the prairies with the opportunity of protest, and he described Riel as the predestined victim of a great idea, *viz.* the extension of free local government to the vast expanses of the west.

An interesting sidelight on Confederation was given by Mr. Trotter in a review of the Baring and Mills correspondence of the 1860's, which showed that a powerful group of financiers in London, interested in the Grand Trunk Railway and other investments in Canada, lent strong support to the movement for union.

In the series of general papers, Mr. Stewart Wallace traced the growth of national feeling from the foundation of the "Canada First" movement to the organization of a Canadian Ministry at Washington. The Hon. N. A. Belcourt first described the position of the French in the period following the Conquest as that of "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the Anglo-Saxon magnates who with the backing of government appropriated the land and resources of the province, and then proceeded to demonstrate the magnificent growth of Quebec as a member of Confederation, showing by a wealth of statistics how the French Canadians had once more come into possession of their own domain. In his paper on Imperial Relations, Mr. Waugh examined the attitude of the mother country toward the colonies during the past sixty years. First, until 1886, there was much indifference owing to the prevalence of the ideas of the Manchester school. Then, for seventy years, until the defeat of Chamberlain's trade policy, there was a strong imperialism. Since 1906, and due largely to the events of the Great War, the bonds of empire have become looser and weaker, with great extensions to the autonomy of the self-governing colonies. This tendency culminated in the declarations of the last Imperial Conference. "There is no doubt," the speaker concluded, "that if legislation and procedure give effect to the findings of the report, the present constitution of the Empire will be destroyed, and if nothing is done, and the report is treated as mere verbiage, the result will be still more sensational."

In his analysis of Canadian cultural development, Dr. Webster expressed the keenest disappointment at the relative insignificance of Canadian productivity in literature, art, music, and architecture. While admitting that a thin and feeble current had been maintained, he charged Canadians as a whole with neglect of the things of the spirit, ascribing their backwardness to absorption in the problems of material welfare and to stagnation, "especially in the more remote parts" of older Canada. His paper provoked the keenest discussion, during which it appeared that rays of light were to be detected here and there, relieving the general blackness of the picture.

The following officers were elected to serve for the ensuing year,—

President, A. G. Doughty, Ottawa.

Vice-president, Chester Martin, Winnipeg.

Chairman of Management Committee, L. J. Burpee, Ottawa.

English Secretary and Treasurer, Norman Fee, Ottawa.

Editor and French Secretary, Gustave Lanctot, Ottawa.

Council (in addition to the above-named officers): George Wilson, Halifax, N.S.; Leo Harvey, Fredericton, N.B.; Dr. J. C. Webster, Shediac, N.B.; Victor Morin, Montreal, P.Q.; W. T. Waugh, Montreal, P.Q.; D. A. McArthur, Kingston, Ont.; D. C. Harvey, Winnipeg, Man.; A. S. Morton, Saskatoon, Sask.; A. L. Burt, Edmonton, Alta.; W. N. Sage, Point Grey, B.C.

HISTORICAL PAPERS

CONFEDERATION AND THE WEST

BY PROFESSOR CHESTER MARTIN

When the Select Committee of the British House of Commons brought in their famous *Report* in 1857, the Hudson's Bay Company controlled nominally the largest area ever administered under one government in America. It included more than a quarter of the North American continent. Within five years, this vast area had been broken into fragments. Two of them, west of the Rocky mountains, had been organized to form eventually the province of British Columbia. Two others—Rupert's Land, the original chartered territory of the company, and the North-Western Territory which lay between Rupert's Land and the Rocky mountains—still awaited the outcome of British policy in the eastern provinces. Within ten years more the whole of the original Hudson's Bay Territories of 1857 had found their way piecemeal into the Canadian Confederation.

This disintegration of Hudson's Bay rule, therefore, is a very rapid, and I think, a very remarkable process. It followed upon the profoundest change in British colonial policy—the concession of responsible government—and it culminated in a transcontinental British Dominion. In truth it was a turning-point in Imperial as well as in Canadian policy. It marked a definite project of devolving responsibility for British interests in North America upon the shoulders of the young Dominion; and in accepting that responsibility Canada was transformed, as we shall see, from a Confederation of equal provinces into a miniature Empire, with a vast domain of subordinate colonial territory under its control. The spirit in which Canada then proceeded to deal with this new subordinate territory affords a curious parallel to British colonial policy at that time, and the repercussion of this first phase of Canadian colonial policy—if so it may be called—is still with us. It is largely the age-long story of the frontier.

There were four distinct areas involved—two on either side of the Rocky mountains—and the failure to correlate these, it seems to me, has been responsible for much mischief. Rupert's Land on the extreme east and Vancouver Island on the extreme west were both proprietary areas held by the Company in fee simple, the first by the Charter of 1670,¹ the second by Letters Patent of 1849. Between these lay a vast area of "licensed" territory held since 1821 by twenty-one-year licenses and divided by the watershed of the Rocky mountains into New Caledonia on the west and the North-Western Territory on the east. These four districts were to go into Confederation as the living creatures went in two and two unto Noah into the ark. The two areas—one "chartered" and one "licensed"—west of the Rockies, came in as the Province of British Colum-

¹ Without discussing here the validity of the rights claimed by the Company under the Charter of 1670, it will be sufficient to state that the *Rupert's Land Act* which finally provided for the transfer to Canada in 1868 was based upon a recognition of the Company's proprietary rights and government. "Eminent law officers, consulted in succession," wrote the Colonial Secretary, "have all declared that the validity of the Charter cannot justly be disputed by the Crown." Duke of Buckingham and Chandos to Viscount Monck, Apr. 23, 1868. *Correspondence Relating to the Surrender of Rupert's Land*, 1869, p. 12.

bia. The other pair, Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, passed through a vastly different experience. The legal and constitutional preliminaries were the same and might have been expected to lead to the same result. The "licensed" areas in both pairs reverted to the Crown in 1858-9 at the expiration of the twenty-one-year license of 1838. There was no difficulty here. In both "chartered" districts too, east and west, the process of quenching the Hudson's Bay title was the same—by compensation to the Company for the surrender of proprietary rights to the Crown.

For Vancouver Island the compensation of £57,500 was paid by the British Government; the old "licensed" and "chartered" areas were united under the name of British Columbia, and British Columbia could thus make its own terms with the Dominion. Those terms were so magnanimous that a Nova Scotian or a Manitoban can only contemplate them with wonder and admiration like the Gargantuan prodigies of nature that abound in that happy province. The spirit in which they were offered seems almost as exotic in Canadian politics as the tales of gold-rushes and sea-otters and the China trade and totem-poles and gigantic timbers in the more sombre background of Canadian pioneering. In truth the contrast between the two western districts under British tutelage and the two corresponding eastern districts under Canadian, is very striking. With a white and mixed population half as large again as that of British Columbia, Rupert's Land found itself between the upper and the nether millstone. For reasons which are not far to seek the attempt was made to acquire this whole area from the Great Lakes to the Rockies not as a province but as a territory; and even when the Riel Insurrection played havoc with that calculation and made it necessary at the outset to create the Province of Manitoba, the same reasons prevailed to restrict its status. "The land could not be handed over to them," said Sir John A. Macdonald in discussing the *Manitoba Act*, "it was of the greatest importance to the Dominion to have possession of it, for the Pacific Railway must be built by means of the land through which it had to pass."² One is not disposed at such a time as this to dwell upon the origins of the "Natural Resources Question" of the Prairie Provinces. But there were other issues of equally vital concern to the primitive population of that day. What were the rights of the little Quebec which men of French race had founded and a devoted clergy had cherished upon the banks of the Red river? The Riel Insurrection in its immediate results was one of the most successful in British history; but its ultimate results have not been so clear. The most poignant reflections upon this sixtieth anniversary of Confederation will be those, I think, which arose from the creation of the Province of Manitoba.

THE FOUR ALTERNATIVES

There were four alternatives before the Red River district during the decade before Confederation.

The first of these was the recommendation of the Select Committee of 1857. It is clear that British policy had not as yet risen to the conception of a transcontinental Dominion, but there are clear forecasts of three tentative regional unions for British North America. British support for a union of the Maritime Provinces during the 'fifties was so violently reversed in favour of the larger federation during the 'sixties that the earlier preference has been almost forgotten. A second regional union was projected for the Pacific coast. The Committee of 1857 recommended

² *Recent Disturbances in the Red River Settlement*, 1870, p. 143.

'the ultimate extension' of government from Vancouver Island over "any portion of the adjoining continent, to the west of the Rocky Mountains, on which permanent settlement may be found practicable." This western regional project was the only one of the three which materialized without disintegrating piecemeal into the Canadian Confederation. For the central areas of the continent the existing union of the Canadas formed the obvious nucleus, and it is significant, it seems to me, that the year before Galt's first project of confederation was snuffed out without compunction at the Colonial Office, the Select Committee had advised that the "districts on the Red River and the Saskatchewan" should be "ceded to Canada on equitable principles." Had this taken place in the 'fifties, the whole story of the West might have been different. A decade of settlement before 1867, like that from 1870 to 1880, might have resulted in a western province at Confederation upon a basis of full equality with the other provinces of the Dominion.

A second alternative—annexation to the United States—was long regarded as the "manifest destiny" of the Red River district. In one single decade the population of Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota had increased by nearly two millions of people, and the deluge was already moving down the Red River valley when Canadian opinion in 1856 suddenly awoke to the danger. Outside the Hudson's Bay route the only access from Red River to the outside world lay through the United States. Over 1,500 Red River carts plied annually to St. Paul. Steam navigation began in 1861. A resolution of the Minnesota Legislature framed in language which would create an international crisis to-day demanded the annexation of Assiniboia; and it was interpreted at the Settlement as "the highest tribute yet paid to this country. An American agent of the Treasury—afterwards Consul Taylor—reported in 1865 that without prompt action on the part of Great Britain "the speedy Americanization of the fertile district is inevitable." As late as 1869 Governor McTavish of the Hudson's Bay Company wrote that the annexation of Assiniboia to the United States would be "its ultimate destiny." It is not easy even to-day to convince some American investigators that annexation was not a major issue of the Riel Insurrection. But the truth was that American opinion at the Settlement was more sanguine than influential. O'Donoghue whom Riel used throughout the Insurrection—in the end, I think, to his own undoing—was of course an incorrigible Fenian, and this fact lent an altogether fictitious tinge to the movement. Major Robinson, too, who edited the *New Nation* for a time during the Insurrection ventured to print one issue which was called an annexation number; but it proved to be the last, for of all the possibilities of that time, annexation to the United States must have been the least attractive to Louis Riel. For the little Quebec at Red River, even the Canadian Confederation, with Quebec as a powerful partner, seemed a precarious venture in 1869. Annexation to the United States would have exterminated everything which the Riel Insurrection was designed to safeguard. The whole traditional attitude of Quebec in Canadian history is a commentary upon this theme.

The third alternative was the creation, as in British Columbia, of a Crown Colony capable of making its own terms with the Canadian Confederation. When the control of the Hudson's Bay Company passed to the International Financial Company in 1863, this became the official policy of the new directorate, but it came to grief upon the proposal that the Company should retain a proprietary interest in the land. "Colonists of the

Anglo-Saxon race", the Colonial Office maintained, "look upon the land revenue as legitimately belonging to the community."³

The fourth alternative was that which eventually came to pass. If Rupert's Land was to enter Confederation, two steps were obviously necessary. The Company must be compensated for surrendering its proprietary rights to the Crown, and this taxed the ingenuity of the Colonial Office to its last resource. The other was still more serious. In what capacity was the new district to enter the Dominion? It was this second problem which led to the Riel Insurrection, raising issues which have never yet been solved in Western Canada, and in a very real sense changing not only the scope and amplitude but the very nature of the Canadian Confederation.

THE TWO PROBLEMS

The statute which finally dealt with both these problems was the *Rupert's Land Act* of 1868—in its ultimate results one of the most important, I am inclined to think, of all the Imperial Acts of the nineteenth century relating to Canada.

The first problem—the surrender of Rupert's Land to the Crown and the compensation to the Company—must be passed over very briefly but its implications were very far-reaching. The terms, as in Vancouver Island, were to be "agreed upon by and between Her Majesty and the said Governor and Company." These were drawn up in the end by the Colonial Office and forced upon the Company under considerable pressure. Since by the Act Canada was not concerned in this stage of the proceedings, her delegates disclaimed all responsibility both for the terms of surrender to the Crown and for the payment of the compensation to the Company. "In the hands of Her Majesty's Government (they wrote) we are of opinion it must remain." From beginning to end they refused to negotiate with Hudson's Bay House. It was assumed that for Rupert's Land, as for Vancouver Island in the previous year, the compensation to the company was to be paid by the British Government. But when the *Rupert's Land Act* came from the House of Commons it was found to contain an amendment "that no Charge shall be imposed by such Terms upon the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom." When the British Government therefore fixed the terms at £300,000 and one-twentieth of the fertile belt, it became necessary for Canada either to compensate the Company for its surrender to the Crown or to forego the subsequent transfer from the Crown to Canada. And thus it came to pass that the process by which the British government had emancipated British Columbia from the proprietary rights of the Company was interpreted by Canada, when the occasion arose in the 'eighties, as a warrant to appropriate to herself those proprietary rights in Rupert's Land as having been "purchased," "owned," "possessed" and therefore "administered (as the *Manitoba Act* states) by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion." But this is trenching again upon the "Natural Resources Question," and at such a time as this even a good Samaritan must be content to pass it by on the other side: with this remark however that though it still lies upon the road to Jericho it is no longer, let us hope, half-dead.

But the second provision of the *Rupert's Land Act* warranted a change in the very nature of Confederation. The original Dominion was of

³ *Correspondence Relating to the Surrender of Rupert's Land, 1869, Appendix III, p. 68.*

course a federation of equal provinces, and section 146 of the Act authorized the admission of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory (as of British Columbia and of Prince Edward Island) as a full province of the Dominion, "subject to the provisions of this Act." Now in that part of the *Rupert's Land Act* confirming the transfer to Canada, the words "subject to the provisions of" the *B.N.A. Act* of 1867 were significantly omitted. The whole area from the Ontario boundary to the Rocky mountains was now to enter the Dominion not as a province but as a subordinate territory.

Canada thus ceased to be a confederation of equal provinces and became a veritable Empire, entrusted with the direct government and administration of the widest range of unappropriated public lands to be found at that time in the British Empire. The various stages through which the central provinces had passed in the old colonial system from the *Quebec Act* to Confederation were now prescribed for these Canadian colonies in the West, and in one respect at least Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta still remain colonies rather than provinces of the Dominion.

Canada therefore proceeded to legislate for the future government of the North-West. The Act of 1869⁴ provided for a governor and council both to be appointed from Ottawa. There were no representative institutions and no statutory safeguards whatever for those whose compatriots in Quebec still contemplated the safeguards of Confederation itself with suspicion and uneasiness. Here was colonial governance with a vengeance, and it became apparent that the primitive population at Red River had been too casually overlooked in these calculations. One group of them, for reasons we must now examine, objected to being "bought like the buffalo."

THE RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

The little community at Red River contained at this time a white and mixed population of about eleven thousand, exclusive of the native Indian. All but a few hundred of these represented the second or third generation in Rupert's Land. It will be possible, I think, to narrow the responsibility for the Insurrection of 1869 by a simple process of elimination.

The American element though exploited by Riel wherever it could fortify his cause, never comprehended, it would seem, the dominant motives of the French Métis. Stutsman at the boundary, O'Donoghue, Riel's Fenian supporter at the Settlement, Major Robinson and others were not averse from making trouble between the Settlement and the Canadian or British authorities. The shamrock appeared upon the flag of the provisional government. One of the three delegates to discuss terms at Ottawa was Alfred Scott an American citizen; but Scott's influence was negligible, and O'Donoghue discovered in good time that his Fenian projects were not to be served by the French Métis at Red River. In the end O'Donoghue's Fenian raid of 1871 was scattered by Captain Wheaton of the United States army, and O'Donoghue's attempts to involve Riel and the French cause were easily frustrated. "I perceived at once," wrote Archbishop Taché at a later date, "that he was endeavouring to deceive me."⁵

⁴ *Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when United with Canada*, 32 and 33 Vic., c. 3.

⁵ *Winnipeg Free Press*, Nov. 7, 1888.

The Hudson's Bay interests may be more easily absolved from any direct share in the Insurrection. None, it is true, had more to lose by the transfer to Canada. Men like Governor McTavish and Dr. Cowan, Chief Factor at Fort Garry, were to be transformed by it from veritable "nabobs" to local shopkeepers. For generations the staid officials of the Company at Fort Garry had set the standards of social intercourse and of private integrity at Red River. Now they were ignored alike by the directors of the Company in London and by the Canadian Government at Ottawa. They never succeeded in establishing their claims to a share in the compensation for the surrender to the Crown; and when Governor McTavish stopped off at Ottawa on his way to the Settlement, he reported that "these gentlemen are of opinion that they know a great deal more about the country than we do." Had the Canadian Government appointed McTavish as the first governor of the Territory, much might have been done to smooth the transfer. But this, it may be stated with certainty, would not have removed the causes of the Insurrection. Meanwhile the aspersions showered upon the Hudson's Bay officials by McDougall and the Canadian party at the Settlement were singularly gratuitous. No man perhaps was better informed than Archbishop Machray with regard to the temper and opinion of the old settlers at Red River. In a confidential memorandum for Sir John A. Macdonald—one of the most judicious and convincing records, I am inclined to think, of that day—Archbishop Machray deplored the "most undeserved suspicion...thrown out upon Gentlemen whose reports could have been thoroughly relied upon....I am perfectly sure that no dissatisfaction of the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company had anything to do with these troubles."

One other group also, I think, may be eliminated. From 1821 to 1850 the Selkirk settlers had their own battles to fight with the Company, but the influences which reached the Settlement from without during the 'fifties and the 'sixties served to identify their interests. The instinctive conservatism which they had in common was fortified by deliberate policy—by intermarriage, by the growing numbers of retired officials of the Company at Red River and by a growing tradition enshrined in the classic pages of Ross's *Red River Settlement*. The aggressiveness of the Canadian party aroused much resentment, but the old settlers, wrote Archbishop Machray, "never had any doubt that the matter would soon right itself....They certainly never did anything to give a beginning to the French action." Their attitude however was—and I think is still—gravely misunderstood. The Canadians accused them of "disloyalty", and in addition to that monstrous imputation charged them with cowardice in not taking arms against their French neighbours across the river. The French meanwhile reproached them with a betrayal of that "neighbourliness and good feeling" so long traditional between them. A few of the old settlers acquiesced in Riel's ascendancy in the interests of peace, but the truth is that for reasons we shall see in a moment they could not be expected to share the worst fears of the French clerical interests at Red River.

There remain then the two antagonistic groups of the Insurrection. For ten years the Canadian party, supported by *The Nor'-Wester*, the only newspaper at the Settlement, had advocated union with Canada, but in a manner which antagonized many of the most influential among the old settlers, and filled the clerical guardians of the French Métis with alarm. Improvident, good-natured, credulous, "uneducated and only half civilized," as Riel protested before the Council of Assiniboia, the Métis were easily stirred to the suspicion that "they would probably be crowded out." "The

indolent and careless ", proclaimed *The Nor'-Wester*, " like the native tribes of the country, will fall back before the march of a superior intelligence." It would be easy to multiply instances of tactlessness, of blundering mismanagement and worse on the part of the Canadian party. Their most aggressive champion was once committed to jail and forcibly liberated by his friends. A survey party though operating under permission of the Company in London was stopped by a band of Métis under Louis Riel who resented their " intention to ride roughshod over everything and everybody."

THE ROOTS OF THE RIEL INSURRECTION

The roots of the Riel Insurrection, however, go deeper than this, and I cannot help thinking that both the French cause and in the long run Riel himself have suffered through the tactics of his apologists in seeking to justify every act of violence by citing piecemeal the stupidity or folly of his antagonists. No amount of special pleading, it seems to me, can legalize by these methods the exclusion of McDougall, the prospective governor of the territory, while yet a private citizen; the seizure and appropriation of his furniture; the opening of the mails; the seizure of Fort Garry; the opening of the safe; the seizure of arms, ammunition and provisions; the declaration of November 24, a week before Canadian government was even contemplated, that they were " free and exempt from all allegiance " to the Hudson's Bay Company and that they had " on the said 24th of November, 1869, above mentioned, established a Provisional Government and hold it to be the only and lawful authority." The subsequent blunders of McDougall in issuing the spurious proclamation of December 1 and a commission to Col. Dennis to raise a force to overthrow the French party were no less illegal. Reprisals on both sides became inevitable, and the virtual imprisonment of Governor McTavish and Donald Smith, the subsequent capture of the Portage party, and the cold-blooded execution of Thomas Scott mark a steady and rapid descent into Avernus.

But those who find in these surface indications the full story of the Riel Insurrection must be singularly undiscerning. There is method in all this, but its justification surely is not to be found in piecemeal legalization. For Canadians of French origin, at least, there are loftier grounds which might dignify not only the cause but the part which Riel played in it beyond the power of his most costly blunders, his most egregious defects of temper and of character, altogether to destroy. The French population of Assiniboia claimed the rights of their compatriots in the province of Quebec. Their history at Red River for two generations, they believed, justified that claim. A Canadian governor and a council appointed from Ottawa would have jeopardized those claims at every point. Nothing but their admission as a province, with statutory safeguards for separate schools, the French language and a second chamber for the protection of minorities, could supply adequate guarantees. In 1869, with both Imperial and Canadian Acts about to be implemented at Red River, the situation seemed irremediable; and so indeed it was without drastic action to reverse the engines. That drastic action was largely the work of one man. There were others like Father Ritchot who were wiser in counsel, and others like Ambroise Lepine who were equally resolute in the use of force. But none combined the will to use both more successfully at Red River than Louis Riel, and so long as French rights are cherished it will stand to his credit, if I am not mistaken, among his countrymen in Western Canada that he

saw what had to be done and had the courage to do it. When M. Provencher, nephew of the first bishop at St. Boniface, was sent by McDougall in October to reassure the Métis, "they uniformly answered (he reported) that...the insurrectionary movement had taken such precautions as to prevent any peaceful settlement at present." The price of peaceful settlement was the Act which created the Province of Manitoba, and the name of Louis Riel, I am inclined to think, can never be dissociated from that achievement.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE

It must be added too that the results of the movement were jeopardized chiefly by Riel's own infirmities of temper—his "insensate pride", as Archbishop Taché afterwards wrote, his "unquenchable thirst for power", degenerating at last into arrogance and bloodshed. Without this it is conceivable that the immediate success of the Insurrection might never have been reversed by the whirligig of time. Beyond a doubt many of Riel's followers were but imperfectly initiated into the *arcana* of the movement; and in truth it is not hard to trace behind Riel himself a surer touch, a more discerning influence in all that was sustained and well-ordered in the Insurrection. In the hands of Father Ritchot, and above all, of Archbishop Taché himself, the negotiations of 1869-70 transcended the events at Red River and challenged the dictates of Canadian statesmanship.

Archbishop Taché had gone to Ottawa in June, 1869, before the trouble between the Métis and the surveyors had arisen at Red River. He was then prepared to return to the Settlement had the government of that day agreed to grant a "reply which could satisfy the people." When Sir George Cartier failed to respond, Archbishop Taché continued on his way to Rome. "I have always feared", he wrote bitterly, "the entrance of the North-West into Confederation, because I have always believed that the French-Canadian element would be sacrificed; but I tell you frankly it had never occurred to me that our rights would be so quickly and so completely forgotten."⁶

In the absence of the Archbishop, the Insurrection took form under Riel's vainglorious leadership, guided and sustained by the resourceful and subtle intellect of Father Ritchot. It is significant however that the *Manitoba Bill* took form only upon the return of Mgr. Taché to Ottawa in February of 1870. On April 11, 1870, the Governor-General informed the Colonial Office by cable that "Bishop Taché before leaving Ottawa expressed himself quite satisfied with the terms accorded to himself and his church." This cable, let it be noted, is dated more than a month and a half after Mgr. Taché's second visit to Ottawa on his way to the Settlement, and fifteen days before the Dominion Government and the three delegates from Red River opened at Ottawa the negotiations which are usually credited with producing the *Manitoba Act*. Indeed the so-called secret list of rights stipulating for the first time the use of the French language and separate schools "according to the system of the Province of Quebec"—the list which Father Ritchot took to Ottawa and which we now know to have formed the basis of negotiations there—was placed in his hands in Archbishop Taché's own presence in Bishop's Palace at St. Boniface.⁷ The fact remains, however, that while wiser heads than Riel's reaped the harvest, it was the resolute use of force by Riel and the French

⁶ Dom. Benoit, *Vie de Mgr. Taché*, vol. II, p. 7.

⁷ *Letter of Mgr. Taché, Free Press*, Jan. 16, 1890.

Métis which frustrated the original plans of the Canadian Government and planted in Western Canada the seed so sedulously cultivated upon the banks of the St. Lawrence.

I can profess no regret that it would be impossible to trace here either the development of the Territories through the various stages of colonial government to the creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905, or the more sombre story of the *Manitoba Act* in the older province. In truth one's inclinations at such a time as this carry one no farther. I have tried to leave the embers of that controversy as far as possible unstirred, and I cannot help thinking that if we would recapture the spirit of 1867, it must be sought not among the ashes of the past in Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory but in a new dedication to better things under the happier auspices of the present day.

FRENCH CANADA UNDER CONFEDERATION

BY SENATOR N. A. BELCOURT

Sixty years is the average length of the life of man. In the first sixty years of their existence nations, even the best endowed and equipped at the start, have barely time to organize their national life and set it in successful operation.

For the Canadian Confederation the task was unusually difficult, slow and labourious. Formed as it was by provinces widely scattered, differing greatly in its elements, in culture, training and achievement, with divers and even conflicting interests, handicapped by a powerful and richly endowed neighbour, the new Dominion was confronted with a most serious problem, in fact, it appeared to many altogether too complex and too audacious.

Looking back to 1867, whilst remembering that Canada has advanced but very slowly and quite insufficiently towards the establishment of real and pregnant national unity, one cannot help wondering that so much has, notwithstanding, been accomplished.

Certainly it is not in a half hour's speech that one could cover the ground adequately, even within the narrower limits assigned to me—"French Canada under Confederation."

I think I shall have done the best in my power in discharging my present duty if I content myself with showing what was, at the time of Confederation, the relative position of the two great ethnical groups which formed it, and if I add to that a few statistics concerning the period which has elapsed since 1867 and in particular those appertaining to the first quarter of the present century, the century which one of our most illustrious statesmen predicted would be "Canada's Century."

I shall endeavour to treat the subject without any desire and certainly no intention to criticize or to find fault and with strict impartiality.

No proper appreciation of the share taken by the French Canadians in the development of the Canadian federation can be had unless one bears in mind the tragic history of their "débuts", the constant loss of their best men in the long, cruel and devastating wars which raged from the very first days of the foundation of the colony to its capitulation and the resulting departure for France of so many of the more prosperous and best educated among them.

Let us remember that for more than three-quarters of a century, up to 1841—they were deprived of any organized system of education and of all practical means and opportunities to profitably participate in the commercial, industrial and financial activities of the country; that, in fact, they were obliged to apply all their energies to the restoration of their ruined farms and establishments, the very labourious and perilous occupation of opening new fields to colonization, to hewing down the forest for the benefit mainly of the Anglo-Canadians who secured from the Crown almost exclusively for themselves grants of immense farming and timber lands, out of which many huge fortunes were made. It was by the sweat of the brow of the French Canadians that so many of these fortunes were obtained. Great numbers of the pioneers thus became and were compelled to remain for a long time, in reality and in name, "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

Others not so occupied had to continue to spend their time and their energies in carrying on the fur trade which, after all, was the greatest enemy of colonization and real progress in Canada. Some, under great difficulties, in a very small way and against the keenest and most powerful rivalry, devoted themselves to the retention and restricted exploitation of a few of the industries which existed prior to and survived the Conquest, such as, shipping, iron mining and smelting, and fisheries. These and those engaged in the fur trade were the principal victims of the wanton waste of natural resources which has been so marked a characteristic of this hemisphere and especially of its northern half. The spirit of adventure, so typical of the French Canadians, especially the "coureurs des bois" and fur trappers, as well as their knowledge of the country, experience and energies, were fully exploited by the great monopolistic corporations, colonization, lumbering and other companies. As one instance only, let it be remembered that the men who really discovered the MacKenzie, who brought the great explorer to it and should have had the credit of this and other discoveries, were men of French Canadian blood. History has preserved the name of some of them: Etienne Lucier, Joseph Gervais, Louis Labonté, Pierre Bleques who, with many other compatriots, were life employees of the Hudson Bay Company.

The principal "Seigneuries" with their divers establishments and the best of the ten individually owned farms were acquired almost immediately by the new colonists at ridiculously low prices.

In 1774—ten years after the Treaty of Paris—Sir James Marriott stated in Parliament "that as many as ten of the principal Seignories had passed from the French to the English", at panic prices (Cavendish, p. 317). Not less than twenty million acres of the richest farming and timber lands of the colony were granted by the Crown to Army Officers, soldiers, public officials, traders and to the men who left the United States after the American Revolution to settle in Canada and to land grabbers and speculators, all for very small or no consideration at all. Of these lands 15,000,000 acres, situated in what is now Ontario, were granted to speculators or to "members of the Council or their friends," (W. L. Grant, *History of Canada*, p. 182).

From 1796 to 1814 the Crown conveyed, for no consideration in nearly all cases, to 96 persons 1,457,209 acres, one Nicholas Austin receiving for himself 62,621 in the Township of Bolton. These grants were the results of frauds in which the members of the Executive Council shared and by which they largely profited. Sir Robert Shore Milne, one of our early Governors, allowed the lands of the Crown to be given away, himself taking 62,621 acres of the most fertile fields in the Eastern Townships. All the grantees, with the exception of 4, were Anglo-Saxons recently arrived. Some instances; in 1810 the Ellice family got 25,592 in Godmanchester township and 3,819 in Hinchinbrooke. In 1815 Governor Lord Drummond gave to the Hon. John Richardson 29,800 in Grantham and to the Hon. Thomas Dunn 11,050 acres. Great Imperial Officers participated in despoiling the Canadian Crown domain. Of his own accord the Duke of Portland gave to Governor Sir Robert Shore Milne 48,062 acres and to the members of the Executive Council constituting the Land Commission which had made the extravagant and scandalous concessions up to that date, 12,000 acres each.

It was from the Imperial authorities directly that The British American Land Co. obtained in one grant 800,000 acres in the Eastern Townships.

A Committee appointed by Lord Durham in 1838 showed that 105 individuals had been granted 1,404,500 acres outside of the Seignories, most of which were purchased from the Crown for a mere song. In this list 4 or 5 French names only can be counted. (Crown Lands Report for the Province of Quebec 1763 to 1890. Printed by order of the Legislature).

Under the Treaty of Paris Great Britain received from France \$680,000 which were paid almost entirely to Anglo-Canadians (H. Heriot, *Travels through the Canadas*," p. 127).

During all these years the French Canadians received no help either in men, money or land, whilst the English colonists were favoured with an ever growing number of emigrants from the British Isles, as well as abundant financial means, and were thus enabled to take and retain the absolute control of the trade, commerce and industry of the country.

In the 19th Century \$1,500,000,000 was invested in Canada by Great Britain, which remained in the hands of the Anglo-Canadians. (Hopkins, *"The progress of Canada in the Century"*, p. 342.)

Think that hardly one dollar of the \$2,400,000,000 which England put into the industrial life of Canada has gone into French Canadian enterprise. (Beckles Wilson. *"Quebec and the Laurentian Province"*, p. 11.)

All the money derived from time to time from the British Treasury for public works or uses in the New Colony, amounting often to huge sums, was placed in the hands of the newcomers and history tells us that it was not always spent for the purposes for which it had been obtained. Let me mention but one instance. For repairs and additions to the Fortress of Quebec no less than \$35,000,000 were from time to time granted by the Imperial Government. There is nothing to show how much of the whole of this sum was used for the purpose stated. No contract for any of these works was awarded to a French Canadian.

The essential industries and the means of transportation, by land and by water, the importation, distribution and disposition of the commodities and necessities of life were wholly carried on by Anglo-Canadians. The St. Lawrence was monopolized by them. Public utilities were treated likewise. The French Canadians were constantly and systematically deprived of all positions of trust, profit, honour or dignity. For a very long time they were the main victims of a powerful and most egotistical bureaucracy. Lord Durham spoke in bitter terms of the "system of extortion which prevailed all over the colony".

In short, at the time of Union, it can be truthfully said that the French Canadian was in the position of "le parent pauvre et ignoré", having no one but himself to depend upon for comfort, support or advancement inside and outside of the country.

The century which elapsed between the Conquest and Confederation afforded the French Canadians no addition to their population except that derived from their own native element. French immigration to Canada, with the Conquest, immediately and forever ceased.

During this period of relative peace the literature, historical, poetic and journalistic of the French Canadians began to emerge out of its infancy and to more adequately reflect their ideals and acquire firmity and independence. It is a transitory period in which the public mind was unfortunately much absorbed by racial and religious rivalries, when French Canadians received but scant consideration at the hands of an arrogant bureaucracy and when their best men carried on almost alone the struggle for responsible government. As a consequence, and notwithstanding their desire and determination to promote the interests of Canada,

they found it impossible to accomplish anything really remarkable except their marvellous increase in population. They also suffered the further handicap of being confined and their activities restricted to the territorial limits of what is now the province of Quebec.

It was only after Confederation, upon acquiring the control of their destiny and of their province, that they were enabled to give their attention and apply their strength to the realization of their ideals, and this they always did, as they now do, without in any way prejudicially affecting or interfering with the rights and activities of the English speaking minority.

It must be remembered that the French Canadians had to overcome the handicaps to which reference has been made before they could be on a footing of equality with the Anglo-Canadians in the pursuit of industry and commerce, and it is quite evident that the odds being so much against them they have not as yet been able to secure equal opportunities. Remember, for instance, that with regard to the lumber industry, they never had the means or influence to secure any of the large and very rich timber limits which fell into the hands of their English compatriots. The owners of these timber limits have, in almost every case, built up very large fortunes because of the tremendous and perilous labours, the energy, the long experience and adaptability for such work of the French Canadians, all of which were paid for with a mere pittance.

Is it to be wondered that under such conditions there began in 1830 and has since continued the deplorable exodus of the French population to the United States, to the great detriment of Canada as a whole and more particularly to the French element?

In 1830 also commenced the migration of the French Canadians from the Province of Quebec into the Province of Ontario along the neighbouring counties, first, Prescott, Russell, Glengarry, then up the Ottawa River, and more recently into Northern and New Ontario and along the Canadian National Transcontinental Railway. There are but few statistics available concerning the great development that they have undertaken and are now proceeding with. We know, however, that they have proved their incomparable capacity for colonization and that they are now wonderfully succeeding and without any Government support. Their number now exceeds 300,000 and they are already exercising considerable influence in the conduct of public affairs in this province.

It is only within the last forty years that French Canadian farmers have taken up land in the prairie provinces where they have formed many permanent and flourishing establishments containing a population of at least 100,000.

Again, may I repeat, if we compare his situation at Confederation with that which he holds to-day in the country, one cannot do otherwise than respect and admire his vitality, determination and courage, as well as the success which he has achieved in the heavily handicapped race he has had to pursue. There is no field of human activity in which he has not striven for progress and everywhere he has brought into play the best and most enduring qualities of the race from which he springs.

In the domain of education he has progressed in a marvellous way and it is my belief that nowhere in the world is there a system of education superior to that which is in operation in the Province of Quebec. The subject of education was a long time ago taken and always since kept out of politics. It has been carried on in strict conformity with and complete regard for the religious and ethnical convictions and traditions of the

different elements of its population. It stands as an example to the whole world for its respect for properly constituted authority, for freedom of conscience and perfect equality.

May I now refer to some of the statistics relating to the province of Quebec?

The statistics for that province concerning industrial, commercial and financial operations do not distinguish between the two groups which form the population of the province, whilst those concerning the educational, charitable and public institutions are easily apportioned. It is well known that the Anglo-Canadians, who number between three and four hundred thousand, control in a much greater proportion than the French Canadians the industrial, commercial and financial establishments and operations and that their aggregate as well as individual possession of wealth is much in excess proportionately to that of the French-speaking citizens; though in the agricultural industry the latter hold a much larger proportion than the Anglo-Canadians. And so it is with regard to public and educational institutions, hospitals, religious holdings.

The statistics to which I shall refer are taken from the records of the Provincial Statistician, Year Books, etc. There are no detailed statistics available for the French Canadian groups outside of the Province of Quebec.

POPULATION

The population of Quebec in 1861 was 1,100,566, in 1921 it was 2,361,199, an increase of 1,250,000 in sixty years.

Quebec thus holds second rank after Ontario, whose population is 33 per cent of the whole country and Quebec 26 per cent. The French population of the province of Quebec exceeds 2,000,000; that of all others being about 400,000. In the other provinces it is as follows: Ontario, 300,000; New Brunswick, 124,000; Nova Scotia, 55,000; Prince Edward Island, 12,000; Saskatchewan, 40,000; Manitoba, 35,000; Alberta, 28,000; British Columbia, 12,000, Yukon and Territories, 2,000.

TERRITORY

At the time of the recent judgment of the Privy Council Quebec had 703,653, square miles. The loss of Labrador has reduced this by 112,000. Out of the 200,000,000 acres in Quebec, before the annexation of New Quebec, in 1912, the extent of the agricultural land was about 30,000,000 acres. Only about one-twentieth, namely, 25,215,416 acres is comprised in organized municipalities; there are nearly ten millions ploughed; a little more than three millions not improved, but cleared; nearly ten million acres still in forest, the rest probably untillable.

AGRICULTURE

To the extreme poverty of the French agricultural centres of 1867 there has succeeded a general competency; the average wealth of the Quebec farmer is above that of his neighbour in the New England States. In 1867 the harvest in Quebec consisted of 23,864 bushels of cereals. In 1926, with seven million acres under cultivation valued at \$1,500,000,000 there was a production of \$150,250,000. The result is due in a very large measure to the constant effort of the provincial Government to improve the condition of the farmers, more especially in the exchange of farm products, the building of new highways and bettering the methods of cultivation.

The clearing is regularly increasing from year to year. In 1901 the harvested superficies was 4,704,396 acres. Last year it had risen to 6,867,200 acres. This does not include pasture land.

This development has been specially marked in the region of Lake St. John, of Gaspé and that north of Montreal, in Temiscamingue and Abitibi. A large number of French Canadians have migrated into Northern Ontario where they have established and are now establishing prosperous and permanent groups, as well as in the prairie provinces.

The province is endowed with 20 Experimental farms, 50 domestic schools, 28 stations exhibiting improvements in the cultivation of fruits, 23 fields of demonstration, 6 orchards for demonstration, 350 co-operative societies, 25 horticultural societies, 15 farm clubs, 1 Union of Farmers; it has 100 scientific agronomists and inspectors are constantly at the disposal of all farmers.

HIGHWAYS

At the time of Confederation there was not a single improved road in the province. To-day there are 7,560 miles of them and at a total cost estimated by the provincial statistician at 75 million dollars. These roads are permanently maintained by the province. They have largely contributed to the great tourist traffic from the United States and other parts of Canada, all of whom agree that the system adopted for the circulation and to prevent danger is well nigh perfect.

DAIRY INDUSTRY

This industry was properly organized about 1880 and practically all the rural parts have adopted the new methods. In 1901 there were 2,000 dairies of different kinds; in 1925, 1,599. At first sight this would seem to be a decrease. The contrary is the truth because the adoption of merging small factories, for the sake of general improvement and reducing cost of operations, has been resorted to. The proof is that in 1901, the total amount of butter produced was 24,625,000 pounds and in 1925, 49,128,804. Contrarily, the production of cheese has diminished. The production in 1901 was 80,630,000 pounds, whilst that of 1925 was 51,761,908. The increase in the dairy industry is also shown by the fact that in 1901 the total number of pounds of milk delivered at the factories was 809,172,000; in 1925 it had reached almost 2,000,000,000 pounds and this without taking into account the large quantity of milk and cream exported to the United States. The production of milk and cream disposed of in the cities of the province is estimated at 19,000,000 pounds yearly. For ice cream alone there is sold in the cities 1,000,000 pounds yearly. The milk production of 1925 was valued at \$89,449,634.

FOREST INDUSTRY

This is carried on over 125,000,000 acres or 200,000 square miles, partly owned, but none of it operated by the Government and partly leased by the Crown, only 9,000 square miles being held by private interests. The annual cut is used for building or for conversion into pulp for paper. No figures are available before 1908 when the annual production consisted in 690,135,000 feet board measure and this had risen in 1926 to 1,681,481,652 feet board measure; the value in 1908 being \$10,828,600, in 1925, \$42,301,755. In 1908 the pulp industry was just at its commencement, 201,450 tons

being produced, and in 1925, 1,370,303 tons. In 1912 there were 21 pulp mills; in 1925, 50 mills. Of all the Canadian provinces Quebec produces the largest quantity of pulp. In 1910 the province prohibited the exportation of wood for pulp cut upon Crown lands in order to promote the establishment of pulp mills and thereby also provide additional work and revenue for the people of the province.

MINES

In 1900 the total mineral production was valued at \$12,546,076 and in 1925 at \$23,824,912. The province can evidently look forward to great development in this branch of industry and within a short time.

FISHERIES

Since 1922 only the provincial government has had the control and administration of its maritime fisheries. There are 102 industrial establishments to handle the fish. The province maintains at different points, among others, at Gaspé, Port Daniel and Tadousac, fishing stations for the breeding of salmon and lobster and restocking many lakes.

WATER-POWER

Of all the provinces Quebec has made the most substantial progress in the development of hydraulic power.

In 1910 the Commission of Conservation of Canada estimated that in the province of Quebec there were then developed 300,153 horse-power, not including the electrical energy produced by the Ottawa river.

In 1925 the province headed all the others in hydraulic development. It then had installed turbines producing 1,915,443 horse-power, Ontario at the same time having 1,798,588 horse-power. With the power now being developed on the Gatineau river and in the discharge of lake St. John into the Saguenay, and not counting other smaller but very important developments, the total hydraulic power of the province will certainly obtain at least 3,000,000 horse-power. Lines of transmission have been erected to carry the force developed to facilitate the establishment of industries and for traction purposes.

MANUFACTURES

There were in 1924 in the province 6,847 Manufacturers with a capital employed therein of \$1,044,113,696 and producing \$776,232,244 and paying \$162,379,284 in wages.

There are many other fields of industry concerning which figures would be interesting but, again, time will not permit of dealing with them.

EDUCATION

In 1867 the province had 3,355 schools, 190 academies, 2 special Model schools and three universities, frequented by 212,837 students. In 1926 there were 8,104 primary schools frequented by 583,905 pupils, with nearly 22,000 teachers. The mean attendance was 8 per cent above that of other provinces. Provincial grants that were \$256,762 reached four million in 1926 and the total cost of education in the province was \$28,980,565.16. Seventeen Normal schools, an Institute of Pedagogy, 21 classical colleges for young men, about as many convents for girls, 4 universities, 7 different chairs of Applied Science at polytechnic schools, schools of superior education, 6 technical schools, 2 fine arts schools, schools of art and manufactures, night schools, agricultural and dairy schools, domestic science schools. Scholarships of many kinds are given to enable the most successful students

to complete their studies in Europe and the United States. Six hundred thousand students attend schools in the province, about one-quarter of the whole population. In 1925 the Quebec Government granted \$1,800,000 to its two Catholic Universities and \$1,000,000, to its Protestant and English University—McGill. There are 65 hospitals and maternity homes, 115 asylums and orphanages, 6 public sanatoria and numerous homes and benevolent institutions.

LETTERS AND ARTS

It is difficult to determine when French-Canadian literature was born. The French Canadian always wrote and sang from the earliest pioneer days. Their literary efforts have on repeated occasions received the flattering approval of the French Academy and distinguished writers of France.

Their traditional artistic sense, notwithstanding the extreme paucity of leisure and means, has enabled them to produce remarkable works in painting, sculpture, architecture, sociology, science, romance, music and journalism.

FINANCE

In 1867 the province had two banks; in 1926 it had 11 and 1,138 branches. Their aggregate capital in September, 1926, was \$2,886,707,070; paid-up capital, \$117,124,011 and their reserve \$125,441,200. Joint stock companies, 24 in number at the time of Confederation, are now 700, with a total capitalization of \$150,000,000.

Quebec since 1901 has known nothing but surpluses in its governmental administration, the smallest being \$24,492 in 1902 and the largest, \$5,033,419, in 1922. It still has a public debt but it is being gradually reduced. In 1925 it reached \$81,944,926, giving a per capita debt of \$33.52, which compares favourably with the banner province whose debt in the same year was \$277,045,257, or \$89.28 per person. Its per capita debt is the lowest of all the other provinces, with the exception of Prince Edward Island. It is the second richest province, holding 25 per cent of Canada's wealth as against 33 per cent for Ontario.

Quebec has a financial institution particularly her own, having a very solid basis, which has met a real demand and very successfully, "Les Caisses Populaires." It was founded in 1906 and has since carried on the principle of credit co-operation. There are now 46 Caisses Populaires, having in 1925 a total of 23,527 associates and assets of \$8,261,513.36. Up to 1925 the amount loaned by these small co-operative banks to their members was \$3,827,642.03 and they had realized a net profit of \$439,261.19. They have greatly contributed to the economic stability of the province.

The fact that there are now over 30 French Canadian millionaires in the province and many others holding fortunes varying from \$100,000 to \$1,000,000 will give a fair idea of the individual financial progress they have made in recent years. Many French Canadians have substantial holdings in commercial and industrial corporations operating under English names.

LABOUR

Time will not permit me to go into details. I should like, however, to refer to another element of economic stability, that resulting from the Catholic National Syndicates. Canada is the only country in the world where the labouring element receives its direction from abroad. It is in order to obviate this intolerable situation that were founded the "Catholic

National Syndicates" of the province of Quebec. The object of these organizations was to assure the establishment of justice by the respect of mutual obligations and the accomplishment of reciprocal duties.

It is interesting to note that these syndicates, while Catholic in name, admit Protestants as members. Founded in 1911, it has 50,000 members. The work done at the annual meetings and the support they have given to certain legislation show that they have exercised and continue to exercise a great moral influence in the settlement of the difficulties which inevitably arise between employers and employees. Since their foundation these Syndicates have prevented many strikes and largely contributed to industrial peace.

CONCLUSION

The French Canadians take a legitimate pride in the life and achievements especially in the French province and the groups established throughout the country. Whilst they are loyal and will remain loyal and firmly attached to Great Britain and British institutions, they have steadfastly resisted and will ever resist every attempt to denationalize them.

Their contributions to the progress and stability of Confederation are entirely due to their own labours, tenacity and endurance, as well as their faith in the future of the Dominion. They have succeeded in spite of great difficulties and handicaps, and notwithstanding unjust and sometimes tyrannical treatment; there is absolutely no phase of their existence which has not shown some progress. They have adapted themselves to the exigencies and difficulties of the times. Never dominated by the materialistic idea, they have remained attached to the soil and to their traditional conception of life. There is no part of Confederation where the two races are better united whilst preserving intact their national characteristics. Nowhere in Canada is to be found greater harmony, more friendly rivalry and emulation, than in the Laurentian province—nowhere do the two races show greater respect and consideration for liberty of thought, of inspiration and of action, no where is there to be found a larger measure of peace, of contentment and "*Joie de vivre*."

Quebec is not only the pivot which determines the proportional representation of the Dominion but it is in reality its balance wheel. Its language and its people, as was said by Lord Dorchester, if I remember correctly, and his words were quoted this morning, are the best bulwarks of British institutions in Canada.

That we have made but small progress towards substantial Canadian unity, as I have already stated, needs no special demonstration. We have not expurgated our national life of repeated errors and grievances; certain conflicts of spiritual and material character have not been appeased and they still endanger our future.

Speaking for myself, I have no wish and no intention, in this Jubilee year, to in any way emphasize our shortcomings and our derelictions. I would rather insist upon the hopes for the future which we may be permitted to reasonably entertain.

Perfect national unity has never been attained anywhere and presumably shall never be. The diversities of origin, of culture, of temperament and mentality, of traditions and achievements, will ever survive. After all, Confederation was predicated upon their survival. The Fathers of Confederation evidently did not consider that these diversities would at any time seriously hinder or delay national unity and these difficulties they would not have done so if the spirit and intentions of the founders of the

Dominion had always prevailed. There is no need to amend our Constitution. The only condition necessary to a united future is a true and just interpretation of the spirit and a sympathetic application of its dispositions.

I am indeed very happy to seize upon this occasion, in this often maligned city, to express my sense of gratitude and gratification because of the very marked change of opinion and disposition towards the province of Quebec and the French-speaking groups outside that province and for the sympathetic consideration of their appeals for justice and British fair play on behalf of provincial minorities, as well as their generous and effective co-operation in the task of creating better understanding, harmony and unity. May I be permitted to specially refer to the indefatigable efforts made and results secured by The Unity League of Ontario and the many distinguished men who compose its membership, its president and its secretary and last, but by no means least, the very distinguished president of this society. No better work was ever as unobtrusively and successfully accomplished as theirs.

The celebration of the 60th Anniversary of Confederation will be but an ephemeral event of little or no consequence unless it is made the occasion for the forming and proclaiming of a firm resolve by all to adhere to and to inculcate in the minds of all our citizens of whatever race and creed, the true spirit and purpose of our Constitution and to put them into constant application, in accordance with the will and hope which inspired the great and wise men who made the Canadian Federation.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES AND CONFEDERATION

BY PROFESSOR D. C. HARVEY

In any discussion of the Maritime Provinces and Confederation first place must be given to Nova Scotia not only because of the leading part which her statesmen had taken in preparing the public mind for the movement but also because she was and has been the most difficult of all the provinces to reconcile to a subordinate position in the Dominion thus created. As the oldest of the self-governing British Colonies, long the British naval and military headquarters of North America, the centre of a picturesque social life, boasting of literary and commercial eminence, Nova Scotia was proud of her history and her achievements, and anxious to realize Howe's dream of being the Normal School of the other Colonies. Consequently, when Howe does not wish to play second fiddle to a new star like Tupper, he is but expressing the reluctance of Nova Scotians in general to play second fiddle to the Canadians at an Imperial banquet.

Of the Nova Scotian statesmen there were two types of expansionists: those who wished for Maritime Union and those who wished for Confederation. Both pictured for themselves an aggrandized Nova Scotia, an enlarged sphere of action, in which those who went down to the sea in ships should have the leadership. To the former, Maritime Union was but the repairing of a blunder that had been made in 1769 and 1784, when Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and Cape Breton had been separated from the political mainland; and, just as Cape Breton had been re-annexed in 1820, so Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick should be restored to the original relationship. To these men, Maritime Union was but a return to the true principles of statesmanship; and there was no problem of a capital when they could point to Halifax, the "*fiat* city" of old renown, the social, intellectual, military, naval, and commercial centre. These men were irredentists; and it may be said that, as every citizen of the United States would like to see the Stars and Stripes floating from Pole to Pole, every Nova Scotian would like to see the Mayflower Province expanded to include the utmost bounds of ancient Acadia, together with the islands of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

But there were expansionists of even wider vision, who dreamed of a great British American Empire, with one flag and one sovereign from Cape Race to Nootka Sound, with the cool spray of the Atlantic on its brow and the warm waters of the Pacific about its feet. Nova Scotia was still to be the "frontage," with Canada and the far West as a noble hinterland.

"With such a territory as this to overrun, organize, and improve," said Howe in 1851, "think you that we shall stop even at the western bounds of Canada? or even at the shores of the Pacific? Vancouver's Island, with its vast coal measures, lies beyond. The beautiful islands of the Pacific, and the growing commerce of the ocean, are beyond. Populous China and the rich East are beyond; and the sails of our children's children will reflect as familiarly the sunbeams of the South as they now brave the angry tempests of the North. The Maritime Provinces which I now address, are but the Atlantic frontage of this bound-

less and prolific region; the wharves upon which its rich argosies are to lie. Nova Scotia is one of these. Will you, then, put your hands unitedly, with order, intelligence, and energy to this great work? Refuse, and you are recreants to every principle which lies at the base of your country's prosperity and advancement; refuse, and the Deity's handwriting upon land and sea is to you unintelligible language; refuse, and Nova Scotia, instead of occupying the foreground as she now does, should have been thrown back, at least behind the Rocky mountains. God has planted your country in the front of this boundless region; see that you comprehend its destiny and resources—see that you discharge, with energy and elevation of soul, the duties which devolve upon you in virtue of your position."

Though these burning words of Howe were uttered in advocacy of the Intercolonial Railway, their effect was more far-reaching than their immediate purpose; and, as part of a cumulative propaganda, carried on at intervals from 1784 to 1864, they tended to convince Nova Scotians that they were the predestined leaders of a new British American Empire; and, though the time came when Howe tried to recall such words as these on the ground that the Quebec scheme did not give proper safeguards to Nova Scotia, he found that many of his pupils were determined to take opportunity by the forelock and to realize the vision. Nor was their influence confined to Nova Scotia. New Brunswickers, also, lighted their torches at the Nova Scotian candle; but they did not expect to give so bright a light.

Speaking at the banquet given in Montreal immediately after the Quebec Conference, Lt.-Col. Gray of New Brunswick said:—

"The public men of the Maritime Provinces had for years looked forward to a union with Canada. They had hoped for it—they had spoken for it—not simply a commercial connection, but a political connection—merging our interests, our character, our wealth, in one common union. He could not forget that at a time, in 1837 and 1838, when Canada was threatened with invasion from abroad—the several Legislatures of the Maritime Provinces had by unanimous votes, by acclamation, placed at the disposal of their Sovereign their entire revenues, property and wealth, to aid their brethren in the west. (Loud cheers.) He could not fail to recall that since that day their public men had striven for this union. Year after year they had turned their attention to the construction of the great Intercolonial Railway which would bring us closer together. Their Legislatures had passed Bills—had granted subsidies—arrangements had been made with Canada, yet year after year from causes which it would be difficult to explain, the object had eluded their grasp, and it was only when it appeared beyond attainment, when the hopes of their people, their Legislatures and their public men, were fading away, that they turned their backs on this cherished idea, and the Parliaments of the Maritime Provinces had directed certain of their leading men to assemble at Charlottetown in Prince Edward Island, and consider how best a union could be effected among themselves, since one with Canada seemed unattainable. When assembled for that purpose, the ministry from Canada came down and proposed, that, instead of remaining longer divided, we should come together, and see if we could not lay the foundations of a great empire which should perpetuate on this continent the principles of British constitutional liberty (cheers). He need not say that a proposition so entirely in accordance with the cherished purpose of their lives was received with unqualified satisfaction."

Though these quotations are disproportionate to the length of this paper, they seemed necessary to illustrate a fact that Maritimers, with grievances, tend to forget,—the fact that they themselves led themselves into temptation. Further, while not forgetting the many sporadic suggestions and discussions of Federal Union that had been made or carried on in Nova Scotia prior to 1860, nor the mission to England of Johnstone and Archibald in 1857 which preceded the similar mission of Cartier, Galt and Ross, it is important to remember that it was Howe's Resolutions of 1861, and Newcastle's reply thereto in 1862, which became the basis and original authority for the negotiations that subsequently resulted in the Conference at Charlottetown on Maritime Union and that at Quebec on Confederation. Nor should it be forgotten that Maritime Union was projected in 1864 only because Nova Scotia had become discouraged over the prospect of a wider union through her experiences in regard to the Intercolonial Railway and Interprovincial Free Trade.

But, if the chief obstacle to a contented Canada and the most eager advocate of Maritime Union has been Nova Scotia, the failure of the Charlottetown Conference in 1864 must be laid at the door of both Canada and Prince Edward Island—the former because of its overwhelming promises of Maritime prosperity, the latter because of its insurmountable opposition to Legislative Union. No complete record of this Conference exists, but it is possible to piece it together from a variety of sources:—

Whelan, in his *Union of the British Provinces*, says: "It is well understood that the proposal to unite the Maritime Provinces under one Government and one Legislature was deemed impracticable."

Tilley, speaking in St. John, on December 20, 1864, says: "The Conference was adjourned without a report and one reason, among others, that they did not proceed was that Canada had submitted propositions highly advantageous. We were seeking to unite in order to extend our trade, and Canada offered us a market of three and a half millions. She proposed to guard our local interests and place us in a better position financially Another strong reason for breaking up the Prince Edward Island Conference was the positive refusal of that Colony to come into the Legislative Union."

McCully, at the banquet in Toronto, November 3, 1864, describes the entry of the Canadian delegation upon the scene in the following eloquent passage:—

"Gentlemen, we of the Maritime Provinces were engaged a short time ago endeavouring to make such arrangements as would enlarge the sphere of our commercial operations, accomplish a legislative union, and secure future prosperity. We had learned that while commerce knew no bounds, and our sails whiten the shores of every sea, our merchants, entering into large commercial enterprises were cramped in their energies, and our trade encumbered with hostile tariffs. While we were so engaged there tapped at our door one fine morning a delegation from Canada—seven of your most intelligent, active, and enterprising statesmen, whom we invited to seats in our councils. They gave us to understand that they had a more excellent way. We sat down listening to them day after day. First we had our friend from Lower Canada, Mr. Cartier—(cheers)—who in a graphic manner gave us to understand that what was required to make a great nation was the Maritime element. Canada, he said, possesses the territorial and the popular element, but it requires the Maritime element (cheers). He invited us gentlemen of the Lower Provinces to assist him and those who

were with him in preparing a larger scheme than that in which we were engaged. Next followed your Attorney General West, Mr. Macdonald. (Loud cheers.) In that pleasing, chaste, and classic style for which he is distinguished, he spoke to us half a day on the subject of Governments and governmental institutions. He enlarged upon the failure of the institutions which had been adopted in the neighbouring Republic, and advocated a system which he contended would build up a great empire of these provinces. Close upon him came Mr. Galt, mighty in finance, great in statistics, and wonderful in political skill—(cheers)—he charmed us for another half day. Following close upon him came Mr. McGee—(cheers)—with his agricultural statistics—laughter—charming us yet again. Last, but not least, followed my honourable friend from Upper Canada, Mr. Brown—(cheers)—enlightening us, and producing sensations so overwhelming that we almost forgot where we were."

Brown's account of what the Canadians said to persuade the Maritime Delegates to suspend their labours is not so convincing. It is taken from his speech at the same banquet in Toronto: "What we said to them was this—We in Canada have had serious sectional differences; but at last we have agreed to a settlement of our troubles on a basis just and equitable to all sections of our country; we are about to frame a new constitution, which will be acceptable to the great mass of our people; and it has occurred to us, on hearing that you too were considering a change of your constitution, whether it would not be well for us all to sit down together, and consider how far it would be for the welfare and good government of our Provinces were we to unite them all under one system of government."

John S. Macdonald's version is more convincing than Brown's, but less high-minded.

"Greater inducements were then offered them, and they were filled with higher hopes and expectations of the good things to be derived from the Confederation of all the provinces. Lieutenant-governorships, chief-justiceships and life-memberships of the Legislative Council were all held out in the prospective by the Canadian Ministers."

If these accounts are somewhat indefinite, the picture may be filled in from the speeches of the delegates on the Confederation tour from Charlottetown to Toronto. Here, were given the pledges which the Maritimers say have been broken; and these pledges may be summarized as, the prospective increase of trade through Maritime ports, the management of the Intercolonial not as a profit-making concern but as a bond of union, and freedom from taxation for local purposes.

At Halifax, Cartier said, "Halifax through the Intercolonial Railroad will be the recipient of trade which now benefits Portland, Boston and New York." . . . "It is as evident as the sun shines at noon that, when the Intercolonial Railway is built, the consequence will be that between Halifax and Liverpool there will be steamers almost daily leaving and arriving at the former—in fact it will be a ferry between Halifax and Liverpool." Galt said, "But the railway is not to be looked upon as a question of cost, but as a bond of union, that will unite us in peace and in time of need." Macdonald said, "Build the road and Halifax will soon become one of the great emporiums of the world. All the great resources of the west will come over the immense railways of Canada to the bosom of your harbour." And in regard to taxation, Cartier said at Montreal, "It is sought to turn public opinion against us by saying that if you have a local government you must resort to direct taxation for the support of the

government. This would never be the case, for a subsidy was to be paid by the general government to each of the Local governments to cover their expenses, and there would be some small items of local revenue which would be sufficient. There will be, therefore, no direct taxation if the government be wise and prudent."

But it was Tilley of New Brunswick, not a Canadian delegate, who promised the Maritimes manufacturing supremacy in the new Dominion. "We are in the Lower Provinces," he said in Halifax, "a manufacturing people to a large extent and we would, to the whole of British America, occupy the same position that Massachusetts does to the United States."

A careful reading of all the speeches on these occasions leads one to conclude that the Maritimes were honest dupes of their own enthusiasm as much as of the promises of Canadian Delegates; and it is a tenable hypothesis that the Canadians, carried away for the moment on the wings of imagination, were quite sincere in hoping that their dreams would come true, in spite of economic facts and of the normal tendency of mankind to lose the vision when in contact with realities.

At any rate, it is obvious that the offers of the Canadians seemed advantageous from every point of view, and that the Maritimers would have been tempted to lay aside their plans for Maritime Union even if Prince Edward Island had not been so opposed to losing her local Legislature. But to this she was unalterably opposed. She had appointed delegates to this Conference only through courtesy. In discussing their appointment it transpired that only two out of the thirty members of the Legislature had been in favour of Maritime Union, although several had looked with a more kindly eye upon the prospect of a federal union. And her attitude is intelligible. In Maritime Union she saw no hope of solving the Land question, her fundamental problem, she had won responsible government later than the other colonies and only after odious comparisons as to her extent and resources, and ever since the days of Patterson and Fanning she had an instinctive fear of being re-annexed to Nova Scotia, a fear that was played upon by the absentee landlords. On the other hand, a wider federal union seemed to her less dangerous, besides leaving her local legislature intact. Just as Quebec was willing to submit to representation by population in a union that included more than her ancient rival Ontario, so Prince Edward Island was less alarmed at and hoped more from the prospect of a wider union, though even here there seemed little to attract her when the Quebec scheme was finally made public.

But it must be emphasized that once the Conferences had been set in motion and the direction was towards Quebec, the delegates of both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick entertained exalted hopes. Throughout the educational tour in Canada they forgot any suspicions that may have been stirred by Lt.-Gov. MacDonnell and devoted no little time to assuring the Canadian people that they came in no selfish mood nor in a cringing, begging, attitude but rather with full hands and open hearts. Only Prince Edward Island delegates were comparatively lukewarm from Charlottetown to Toronto, *and return*.

But, if the delegates from the Maritimes had achieved a union of hearts and of understandings at Quebec and amidst the attendant festivities, the necessary secrecy which had surrounded the drafting of the Quebec Resolutions was maintained longer than public opinion could bear, and garbled reports reaching the Maritime Provinces wrought havoc with their well-laid plans. In this atmosphere the opponents of Con-

federation were able to whip up an opposition that caused no end of trouble to the unionist statesmen and left behind it a legacy of suspicion and ill-will which has been like an ulcer in the side of the Dominion. It likewise led the Imperial Government to resort to coercion, at the behest of Canada—coercion which made Nova Scotia in particular feel that the decline in her ancient leadership dates from the irruption of the Canadian delegates into the Charlottetown Conference.

The details of this story cannot be recounted here. It may be said in general, however, that the opposition in New Brunswick, which was probably factious, as New Brunswick had more to gain from the Inter-colonial Railway than any of the other provinces, was directly but easily overcome by Imperial pressure; that Imperial pressure was exerted to the fullest extent in Nova Scotia on behalf of the triumphant Confederate faction; and that it was unsuccessfully exerted in Prince Edward Island, which was finally included in the Union only after the Imperial Government had declined further to pay the salary of the Lieutenant-Governor and had bluntly announced that no indemnity for the abuses of the landlord system could ever be expected from it.

It would appear that the Imperial Government, having once committed itself to the plan of Union, became less concerned about public opinion as distinct from a Legislative majority; that it took careful steps to secure governors favourable to the movement—Gordon of New Brunswick being reprimanded and MacDonnell of Nova Scotia being supplanted; and that it put into the hands of these governors every resource at its command, short of direct coercion. These influences were exerted chiefly through the problem of defence and the proposed renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States.

In regard to the Reciprocity Treaty the colonies were told that their views would be heard only through a Confederate Trade Council, which was an excellent illustration of the advantages of Union from the Imperial point of view; and, in regard to defence, a matter of much concern to the Colonies at this time because of their proximity to the United States, which was in a very uncertain temper and struggling to reabsorb its large army into peaceful industry, the Maritime Provinces were all told quite frankly that if they continued to rely upon Great Britain for protection they should be willing to accept advice from her as to what political measures would most likely conduce to that end.

This thinly-veiled coercion, coupled with the Fenian Raid and Lt.-Gov. Gordon's conversion, which transmuted Confederation from a matter of public opinion into a matter of executive conscience, had great weight with New Brunswick, which in 1866 completely reversed its decision of the previous year, and voted for Union. Prince Edward Island, true to its independence complex, replied by a "No-Terms" resolution, deliberately drafted so as to prevent the appointment of delegates to England, lest there they should be won over by the smiles of favour.

In Nova Scotia Imperial pressure did not at first appear, as such, because the substitution of Williams of Kars for Lt.-Gov. MacDonnell was soothing to Nova Scotian pride, and because the Provincial Government, taking advantage of the fact that it still had two years of life, refused to test public opinion by an election. Consequently the Anti-Confederate party was confident that it could rely upon the spirit of fair-play in England to see justice done to the under-dog. This was the hope of Howe and his fellow-delegates. This was the hope of the entire Anti-

Confederate group. But their hopes were dashed to the ground, for the Imperial Government had made up its mind before the struggle began; and when the Anti-Confederates found that the Imperial Government sided with Canada, and with Tupper who seemed to be in league with her, they drank the gall and wormwood of those who discover that all Imperial governments, like "God," are "on the side of the big battalions." Gone was Nova Scotian pride and Nova Scotian leadership! Instead of being federated with the British North American Provinces, she had been annexed to Canada and she had been coerced at the request of Canada! Psychologically, therefore, if not from the point of view of commerce and industry, Nova Scotia was sorely wounded by Confederation.

Little can be gained by speculating as to what might have been if Confederation had not been forced to an issue in 1867. Perhaps, like the South American Colonies, the British American Provinces might have become little republics. Perhaps, the West would have been annexed to the United States almost immediately, and the Maritime Provinces might have been absorbed by peaceful penetration. Perhaps, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia would have united at that time and Confederation would have taken place later under more satisfactory conditions.

It may be that the Maritime Provinces would have been better off commercially and industrially if they had been allowed to remain aloof from Canada. It is possible that they could have made better commercial arrangements with the United States apart from Canada. The abortive Bond-Blaine Convention between Newfoundland and the United States is an instance to the point. On the other hand, they might have been unable to resist the attractive power of their Southern neighbour, especially if Great Britain had ceased to assume obligations for defence as she might have done; for there is no doubt that a united Canada has seemed more worth while to Great Britain than the scattered British American Colonies did, and besides it has needed much less direct aid.

At any rate, it is unfair to blame Confederation for the decline of the ship-building industry of the Maritime Provinces, or for the importation of New Zealand butter into Nova Scotia, or for the tendency of Nova Scotians to look to government for a livelihood, a weakness older than Haliburton and severely castigated by Sam Slick. But it is none the less incumbent upon the Dominion to remove if possible the Maritime sense of wrong. Perhaps, some help might come through a wider union to include the West Indian Islands. In that way the Maritime Provinces might recover some of their commercial prosperity, as ferries between the West Indies and Western Canada. But, with Confederation as it is, the Dominion should do all in its power to redeem the promises of the Canadian Delegates in 1864, to make the Intercolonial a bond of Union regardless of cost, to subsidize the Maritime Provinces so that they may not have to resort to heavy taxation for local purposes, to grant such subventions to coal and steel as will make it possible for the Middle Provinces to dispense with these American products, to give such encouragement as may be necessary to enable the fishing industry to come into its own, and to encourage immigration to the East as well as to the West.

When that day comes the Maritimers will be able to recapture some of the enthusiasm of McCully who in this city, on November 3, 1864, hoped to be able to apply even to Ontario, Scott's immortal line, which Haliburton had long since appropriated for Nova Scotia alone—"This is my own, my native Land."

SOME ASPECTS OF UPPER CANADIAN RADICAL OPINION IN
THE DECADE BEFORE CONFEDERATION

BY PROFESSOR FRANK H. UNDERHILL

Present day popular knowledge of the Confederation movement seems to be largely confined to biographical details about the leading actors in the drama. The story of the political matchmakings and breaches of promise, of the party marriages and divorces of the time, has been narrated to us ad nauseam; and it is the general familiarity with it which has led, no doubt, to the general acceptance of the dictum that "our Canadian History is as dull as ditchwater and our politics is full of it." What is needed for the Confederation period—as indeed for all periods of our history—is a series of studies of the atmosphere, social, economic and intellectual, in which the political movement took place. If we were more familiar with the ideas which were floating in the air at the time and with the underlying conditions which made these ideas prevalent, the 1927 jubilee celebrations on which we are about to embark would probably display much less rhetorical hero-worship and much more real understanding of ourselves as a people.

This paper is an attempt to discuss some of the ideas which were prevalent among one section of the community, the Upper Canada Reformers, during the ten or fifteen years before 1867. It is based largely on the pages of George Brown's *Globe*, which, as everyone knows, stood out in the 1850's and 1860's not merely as the exponent but also as the maker of the radical opinion of its constituency. The long agitation conducted by Brown in the *Globe* and on the floor of the Legislative Assembly eventually produced the political situation in Canada from which Confederation resulted. It is worth while, therefore, to examine what it was for which or against which he was agitating, especially as his *Globe* has by this time become one of those classics that everyone has read about but very few have read.

To-day the main thing that is remembered about the *Globe* of those times is its attacks upon the Catholic Church; and in view of its reputation for religious intolerance one is rather surprised to find how small a part religious controversies play in its editorials. Of course, attacks on the supposed superstitions of the Roman faith and on the pretensions of the Vatican or of the local hierarchy to be the repositories of final truth can easily be quoted. But from about 1857 on these become less and less frequent. It was the *political* activities of the hierarchy which roused the *Globe's* ire; their interference in elections; their refusal to accept the complete separation of Church and State which the Upper Canada Reformers thought the only possible policy in a country of such diverse faiths as Canada; and especially their working alliance with the big business interests of Montreal which regularly delivered some fifty odd French-Canadian "Moutons" in the Assembly under Cartier's leadership to vote for every job of the Grand Trunk, for tariffs that compelled Upper Canada to buy from Montreal instead of from the United States, or for the mere lack of action that prevented Canada from challenging the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Northwest. It is true, of course, that Brown was hypersensitive on religious questions; and one suspects that a little skilful baiting

by his opponents was not infrequently resorted to in order to lead him to make an exhibition of himself on the subject. Certainly they found his vociferous Protestantism a very useful red herring to drag across the trail whenever he grew particularly hot in the pursuit of some unsavoury job perpetrated by the government or its friends. But I think that an attentive reading of the *Globe* itself will lead one to the conclusion that it was gradually dawning on Brown as the years went by that the real enemy was not the Catholic Church but big business.

For the essential thing about the *Globe* and the movement it led is that it represented the aspirations and the general outlook on life of the pioneer Upper Canadian farmer. The "Clear Grit" party in Upper Canada was an expression of the "frontier" in our Canadian politics just as Jacksonian Democracy or Lincoln Republicanism was in the politics of the United States. It was to "the intelligent yeomanry of Upper Canada"¹ that the *Globe* consciously made its appeal. Though Brown himself sat for one of the Toronto seats from 1857 to 1861, the Grits never succeeded in capturing the main urban centres. Toronto, London, Hamilton and Kingston pretty steadily elected supporters of the Macdonald-Cartier coalition. The *Globe* was never tired of contrasting the higher level of politics in the country districts with the corruption of the cities where campaign money from the Grand Trunk, the breweries and government contractors flowed like water. "It has always been the boast of the Reform party," it remarked on August 1, 1867, "that it was greatly made up of the sturdy yeomanry of the land and of by far the most intelligent and incorruptible of that." When the London *Times* in one of its frequent jeremiads on the subject of Canada attributed the low level of Canadian public life to universal suffrage, the *Globe* rejoined² "There may be many people who believe that the franchise is too low. . . but the fact is beyond dispute that the higher classes, to whom the *Times* alludes in terms of approval, are the authors of the greatest mischief in Canada. They have formed a bureaucracy and by boundless corruption carried on in alliance with London bankers have retained the control of affairs for many years. . . . Our farmers and mechanics whom the *Times* would consider too low in the social scale to be entrusted with the franchise, are our best politicians." When English papers were predicting as the result of the American Civil War a militarized democracy which would proceed, à la Napoleon, to gobble up the rest of North America, the *Globe* repeatedly reminded them that the basis of North America democracy was not a city mob as in Europe but an intelligent, independent agricultural class.³ It constantly agitated for reforms in the Crown Lands Department so that the interests of the settler rather than those of the land speculator might be advanced;⁴ it made fun of city men in charge of agriculture in the Cabinet, men like "Philip Van Weevil"⁵ and D'Arcy McGee "a poetical lawyer who never raised a cabbage in his life except perhaps in a scrimmage of Young Irishmen."⁶ From its office for

¹ The phrase occurs in an article of April 23, 1867, and similar phrases occur frequently.

² Nov. 8, 1861.

³ e.g. in an article of Aug. 15, 1861: "It is the rural population, the reading population who rule in the United States and no military dictator could conquer them. . . . The greatest standing army that ever was raised would not keep down twenty millions of reading men inhabiting a country thousands of miles in extent."

⁴ See articles of June 7, Sept. 7, Oct. 19, Dec. 28, 1859; May 30, 1860; Dec. 3, 1861.

⁵ "Van Weevil" was the *Globe's* nickname for Philip Van Koughnet who was taken into the Cabinet in 1857 and given charge of agriculture. He had announced a campaign for the destruction of weevils.

⁶ March 24, 1864.

several years was published a special agricultural journal, "The Canada Farmer."¹ Always its first care was for the "intelligent yeomanry of Upper Canada."

This essential connection between the Clear Grit movement and the Western farmer is shown also by the nature of the opposition to it. The Brown Reformers never succeeded in making very deep inroads into the eastern corner of Upper Canada—the St. Lawrence below Kingston and the Ottawa valley. These districts were economically connected with Montreal and the St. Lawrence route and naturally supported a Montreal Government. It was in the West, in the Peninsula, that the centre of Grit influence lay; and "eternal restlessness of the Peninsula" of which the Toronto *Leader* once² complained was a temper of mind which Brown found congenial. Eastern Protestants, under the guidance of the *Montreal Gazette*, seldom allowed religious sympathies to draw them towards the dangerous radicals of the West. The *Gazette* steadily preached to them that their community of economic interest with their fellow Easterners, the French Catholics was of far more importance than any religious difference or than the memory of old feuds in the pre-Responsible Government days. "The ties of race and religion" it declared³ "have been ineffectual to bind our merchants, manufacturers and mechanics to the chariot wheels of Western Gritism. But why is it? Simply because the Western Grits always ignored the interests of the merchants, manufacturers and mechanics of Lower Canada; because they showed a disposition to treat us as a mere appendage of the Western Province, to be used against the French Canadians when we consented to be these men's tools and to be repaid for our aid by having the commerce of the St. Lawrence destroyed and the manufacturing interests of the country broken down." And again in a review of the Rep. by Pop. struggle⁴ "While the French Canadians have feared a preponderant Western representation as dangerous to their nationality and peculiar institutions, the English-speaking commercial classes have feared, not without reason, that more political power given to the Far West meant a policy calculated to divert trade from the great highway of the St. Lawrence into other foreign channels. They had therefore to guard material interests and had clung to the English doctrine that interests in the body politic and not mere numbers required representation."

This calm conviction of the Montreal organ of the 1860's that whatever threatened the dominance of Montreal was ipso facto contrary to the true interests of Canada inevitably reminds a modern reader of more recent Canadian politics. In fact, one is constantly being struck in reading the papers of those days by the many points of similarity between the Clear Grit movement among the farmers of Upper Canada and the Progressive movement among the prairie farmers to-day. Both are protests against much the same factors in Canadian life; and both have been defended or denounced by the contemporary press in much the same terms. The essence of the struggle which produced the political deadlock of the 1860's was not that it was primarily a fight of Protestant against Catholic or of English against French, though both these elements entered into it and embittered it. It was primarily a struggle of West against East; the then West being, like the modern West, in its social structure largely

¹ First issued in January, 1864.

² Jan. 22, 1857.

³ March 29, 1864.

⁴ Nov. 16, 1864.

agricultural and its geographical position a long way from its markets; and the East, then as now, being dominated by the transportation, banking and manufacturing interests which centered in Montreal.

I propose to deal specially with the attitude of the *Globe* towards three questions which bulked very largely in the discussions of the pre-Confederation years—the Grand Trunk, the Northwest, and Confederation itself.

I. THE GRAND TRUNK

The modern period of our Canadian history is usually taken to begin with the achievement of Responsible Government. But it is the coming of the railways which really makes it modern; and one often wonders in studying the 1850's whether we shouldn't fix the beginning with the introduction of the Grand Trunk rather than with the introduction of Responsible Government. The famous remark of one prominent party leader that his politics were railway politics is the watchword of the new era in which a Baldwin or a Lafontaine was out of place as Rip Van Winkle; and the problem of how railway development should be carried on in a new country and what should be the relation of the government to it is one that has overshadowed our existence ever since and is not yet completely solved. Undoubtedly the particular solution which was attempted in the 1850's by Hinck's bargain with Messrs. Peto Brassey, Jackson and Betts, while it eventually produced a great trunk railroad line, had an enormously evil influence in demoralising Canadian public life and in saddling the country with an almost ruinous public debt.

The *Globe* fought the Grand Trunk from the beginning as a sinister force of corruption and extravagance.¹ It believed it was a political railroad built for the benefit of promoters and contractors and politicians at the expense of the English shareholders and the Canadian public. The original contract and the successive, almost annual, revisions of it at the demand of the Company as it sank deeper and deeper into the financial mire, were opposed strenuously by Brown both in editorials and in speeches. Every year when a fresh demand from the Company was presented in the House and at every general election the *Globe* teemed with articles giving a detailed review of all the sordid and expensive transactions to date; and on each occasion Brown was beaten. Sadly he had to admit that opposition members were open to Grand Trunk influence as well as the "corruptionists" on the Government side.² Fiercely he denounced the Cabinet Ministers who served two masters at once—Cartier who was solicitor for the Company in Lower Canada, Macdonald who was involved with Grand Trunk men in dubious land deals at Kingston and Sarnia, Galt who had unloaded the Montreal-Portland line on to the Grand Trunk at a handsome profit to himself and his friends while serving as a director of the Grand Trunk, Ross whose only function in the Cabinet was to look after Grand Trunk interests, etc., etc.³; while the smaller fry who got

¹ See article of May 14, 1858: "We are now witnessing the full results of the evil principles introduced by Mr. Francis Hincks. The railway era which he inaugurated has brought with it reckless extravagance in the finances of the Province and an utter disregard of every consideration of public duty."

² See e.g. article of May 2, 1857.

³ Details of these charges against ministers and their connection with the railway, which occur frequently, may be found in an article of June 11, 1861. The charges against Galt are given with most particularity on Feb. 9, 1861. The Sarnia and Kingston cases with which Macdonald was connected are discussed on Nov. 24, 26, 28, 30; Dec. 1, 4, 19, 27, 28, 1860; and May 18, 25, 1861.

the pickings from the feast came in for the same castigation. Even the Governor General did not escape.¹

"The Grand Trunk Railway" exclaims the *Globe* on April 22, 1857, "governs Canada at the present moment. Its power is paramount. The Ministry are mere puppets in its hands and dance whatever tune the Company pipes. We much fear the present Parliament is not better than the Ministry. It may require more careful handling, more skilful management of the wires and more oil for the wheels in order to make things run smoothly; but the Grand Trunk managers have learnt how to handle it The Grand Trunk moves by one of two modes or by a combination of both, by threatening to use its political power against the refractory member at the next election or by promising personal advantages, pecuniary or otherwise. In either case the result is more disgraceful to the individual and more degrading to the country than the forced acquiescence of the legislature like that of France or Prussia." In another article about the same time² dealing with the extension to Riviere du Loup, it explains the railway legislative methods with more particularity. "We are still ignorant of the capacity of the ministerial omnibus. At all events it is intended to embrace the Quebec members. Were it not for the need of their votes what ministry would think of compelling the Grand Trunk to build a line to Riviere du Loup, a line which never will and never could pay running expenses, which passes no town or even large village and ends nowhere? A million of Canadian pounds is to be paid that Mr. J. A. Macdonald and his precious company may secure the aid of Messrs. Baby, O'Farrell, Simard and Thibaudeau." And when the bill is finally through it bursts out, with a slight mixture of historical references, "Oh, for a Cromwell or a general election to cleanse the augen stable of this Parliament!"³

Three years later, on a report in the *Leader* which hinted at the taking over of the road by the Government, the *Globe* relieved its feelings in an editorial⁴ which is worth quoting at some length as a good example of its general attitude: "If it has become bankrupt in the hands of private capitalists, working it for their own profit, what will be its condition in the hands of a Government working it as a political machine for the benefit of a party? We had no idea that anything so bold, so gigantic, so utterly ruinous as the scheme which the *Leader* has just announced would be proposed even by the desperadoes of the present Cabinet. It is time for the whole country to rouse itself to action, to appoint and instruct its leaders, to put on its armour, and prepare for the conflict. We have seen the previous Grand Trunk bills carried through Parliament under whip and spur; we have seen agents from England hovering about the lobbies of Parliament; we have seen members who denounced the Grand Trunk on the floor of the House taken into a committee room for a few minutes and returning mollified and converted and ready to vote for everything that was proposed; we have seen the lobby agents of the English speculators rushing off to Government House at one o'clock in the morning to announce to His Excellency the success of the measure to convert the loan of sixteen millions of dollars by the people of Canada into a gift to their principals. We have seen millions of dollars voted amidst derisive laughter and drunken uproar; amidst shouting, singing and cock-crowing for the benefit of certain classes in Lower Canada; we have seen the rules

¹ See articles on June 12, 1856; Nov. 7, 1860.

² April 16, 1857.

³ May 14, 1857.

⁴ Nov. 7, 1860.

of Parliament, the laws of the land, the obligations of the constitution, and the proprieties and even the decencies which ought to be preserved by a deliberative body trampled upon without hesitation and set aside without shame, in order that the corrupt bargains of corrupt men might be carried out."

After 1861 when the management of the company was reorganized with Watkin as President and Brydges as General Manager, the *Globe* hoped at first for better things, as the new directorate showed some promise of trying to run the railway as a commercial concern. But Watkin began immediately to pull strings for the building of the long discussed Halifax-Quebec railroad and the *Globe* was in arms once more against what seemed to it another scheme for plunder, for getting government subsidies that would all go into the pockets of the promoters. Down to 1864 it treated the whole Intercolonial idea as a Grand Trunk job and nothing more. The demand of the company for increased postal subsidies also led to a long controversy and soon the *Globe* was as suspicious of the new management as of the old. "Mr. Brydges is still here," its Quebec correspondent writes on March 23, 1864, at the time of the last crisis but one before the great coalition, "and it is commonly remarked that he is never absent when a political crisis is going on." And when finally Confederation and the Intercolonial were both assured the *Globe* returned to the charge. One of its chief arguments against putting Macdonald into power to inaugurate the government of the new Dominion was that to do so would be simply to re-establish a Grand Trunk Government. "Shall we surrender to Macdonald and Galt the control of that great work, the Intercolonial? Shall we permit them to construct another edifice of fraud similar to the Grand Trunk?"¹

This long fight against the railway octopus in Canadian politics deserves much more attention than it has usually been given in accounts of Upper Canada Reform. It was the chief fight which the *Globe* conducted against the undue influence of special interests; but it went hand in hand with a vigorous campaign against the efforts of Galt and the Bank of Montreal to monopolize credit facilities against the efforts of the manufacturers for a protective tariff, against the efforts of the Montreal wholesalers and importers to compel the West to deal exclusively with them. All these were attacks upon the interests of the common man as the *Globe* saw them, upon the interests of "the intelligent yeomanry of Upper Canada." So far as railway affairs went the Grand Trunk was too strong for the *Globe*, and Grit political purists could do little more than make unavailing protests. It is part of the irony of Brown's career that, after struggling all his life against the domination of Canadian politics by the Grand Trunk, he passed away just too soon to see the advent of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Perhaps he was happy in the time of his death.

II. THE NORTH WEST.

In another direction the *Globe* was able to make a more positive contribution. This was in regard to the North West. Speaking in the House after he had got the campaign for incorporating the West well under way in his paper, Brown recalled that he had made the topic of the North West a part of the very first speech he had delivered in the legislature.² Certainly, from 1856 on, the *Globe* took the lead in Canada in agitating for the removal of the company's monopoly on the Red and Saskatchewan

¹ June 26, 1867.

² See report of his speech in the *Globe* of March 2, 1857.

ivers and the opening of the territory to Canadian settlement. More than any other agency it deserves the credit for educating Canadian public opinion up to the conception that the future of Canada depended upon the country beyond lake Superior.

The Reform Convention of January, 1857, made the incorporation of the North West one of its planks; and from that time for the next ten years the *Globe* was full of news articles and editorials on the subject. Conservative papers for a long time pooh-poohed the project as visionary, and the *Globe* characteristically charged them and the Government they supported with being in the pay of the Hudson's Bay Company. Cartier, it declared constantly, from his post of vantage inside the Cabinet, was thwarting any advance by Canada towards the Red river in his fear that it would upset the political balance of power to the detriment of Lower Canada.¹ When a group of leading Toronto business men formed the North West Transit Company to develop the route from Collingwood via Fort William to Fort Garry the *Globe* was loud in their praises.² In 1859 when two Toronto newspaper men, Messrs. Buckingham and Coldwell, went out to start a paper in the Red River settlement, Buckingham wrote special letters to the *Globe* about their trip, and after *The Nor-Wester* was started the *Globe* published extracts from almost every number it printed.³ With an enterprise which was noteworthy in the journalism of the time the *Globe* brought out a special supplement on the North West containing one of the very few maps that appear in the newspapers of those days.⁴ It watched with interest the struggles of the settlers against company rule; it published extracts from the reports of expeditions of Hind and Palliser and the others; it teemed with letters and articles from settlers and special correspondents; and when British Columbia began to go ahead it redoubled its enthusiasm because this increased the importance of the Red River settlement as a link in an all-British route across the continent.

The *Globe* also kept its readers well informed about the different phases of the question in the mother country. When the English House of Commons investigated the company's regime in 1857 the *Globe* received special correspondence from Mr. F. W. Chesson,⁵ the secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society which was fighting the company on the ground that its rule was bad for the Indians. Chesson continued to supply anti-company news and arguments from London for more than two years, and in addition to his letters the *Globe* reproduced every item unfavourable to the company that appeared in any of the leading English papers. It watched the changes of government in Britain, criticized the Whigs in much the same terms as it used about Macdonald and Cartier in Canada for their undue friendliness to the company, even welcomed a Tory government as being more independent of Mr. Edward Ellice.⁶ And it eagerly

¹ An article on Jan. 10, 1857, refers to "Sir George Simpson and his golden arguments." See also article of April 23, 1858 (Weekly edition): "Are we to be shut out from this territory because Mr. Rose, Mr. John Ross and Mr. J. A. Macdonald either by monetary inducements or by well-directed influence are more disposed to act in the interest of the Hudson's Bay Company than for the benefit of the people of Canada?" On the opposition of Cartier and the French to Western expansion see articles of Jan. 6, 1857, and Aug. 2, 1860.

² The company was formed in 1856. A review of its operations to date is given July 18, 1859.

³ Buckingham's letters appear in October, 1859.

⁴ May 18, 1857.

⁵ Letters from "F.W.C." begin to appear in March, 1857.

⁶ See articles of Feb. 25, 1857; March 26 and Aug. 6, 1858 (weekly edition); June 30, 1859; March 4, 1860.

gathered information about the financial deal of 1863 which put the company into the hands of the same group of interests as controlled the Grand Trunk.¹

What the *Globe* especially insisted on was the great future which was in store for Canada if she would only rise to her opportunity. Here Brown was undoubtedly a magnificent prophet. He tried to stir the ambitions of his fellow-citizens and constantly lamented their lethargy as contrasted with the American energy in pushing westward. Commenting in 1862 on a news item from Belleville that the explorer Fraser was 86 years old, the *Globe* asks: "Is it not disgraceful to us as a people that in the year 1862 we should have advanced so little beyond the steps taken by the bold fur-trader in 1805, that the journey across the Rocky mountains should be nearly as arduous now as it was then? How long are we to bear this reproach upon the enterprise of our race? So long as Mr. Cartier rules but not one day longer, we trust." And a little later in the same year it declares: "The opening up of the country belongs not to Great Britain but to those who will benefit by it, to Canada . . . It is absurd for men to advocate our paying one or two million a year to support Imperial policy on foreign affairs and at the same time to allege that the Imperial Government should bear the expense of opening up our own territory."² Again, answering arguments of the *Leader* that Canada already had more territory than it could populate, the *Globe* replies "If the original thirteen States had been guilty of the narrow-minded policy now recommended to Canada; if they had isolated themselves from the rest of the continent and persistently refused to share in any way the burdens or to provide in any way for the wants of the Territories, where would be the greatness to which they have achieved?"³ And it continues a little later: "The non-occupation of the North West territory is a blot upon our character for enterprise. We are content to play the drone while others are working. We settle down quietly within the petty limits of an insignificant province while a great empire is offered to our ambition."⁴

"A great empire is offered to our ambition." This was the constant clarion-call of the *Globe*. "When the territory belongs to Canada, when its navigable waters are traversed in a few years by vessels, and lines of land travel are permanently established, when settlements are formed in favorable localities throughout the territory, it would not be difficult by grants of land to secure the construction of a railway across the plains and through the mountains . . . We can beat the United States if we start at once. It is an empire we have in view and its whole export and import trade will be concentrated in the hands of Canadian merchants and manufacturers if we strike for it now."⁵

In similar strain is an article of January 22, 1863. "The public mind has been carefully prepared; the time for argument and discussion is almost past; action is now demanded on all hands, . . . If Canada acquires this territory it will rise in a few years from a position of a small and weak province to be the greatest colony any country has ever possessed, able to take its place among the empires of the earth. The wealth of 400,000 square miles of territory will flow through our waters and be gathered by our merchants, manufacturers and agriculturists. Our sons will occupy the chief places of this vast territory, we will form its institutions, supply

¹ See articles of July 10, 17, 24, 31, 1863 (weekly edition).

² April 23, 1862.

³ June 30, 1862.

⁴ July 15, 1862.

⁵ March 6, 1862.

its rulers, teach its schools, fill its stores, run its mills, navigate its streams. Every article of European manufacture, every pound of tropical produce will pass through our stores. Our seminaries of learning will be filled by its people. Our cities will be the centres of its business and education, its health and refinement. It will afford fields of enterprise for our youth. It is a bright prospect and its realization would be worthy of some sacrifice."

What lent additional fervour to the *Globe's* appeals was the fear that the West would fall into American hands if Canada delayed too long. This danger forms a frequent subject for editorials. The *Globe* watched anxiously every movement, commercial and political, that seemed to bring the Red river closer to St. Paul. "If we let the West go to the United States, if the rest of the continent outside of Canada and the Atlantic provinces acknowledges the sway of the Republic, we should be unable to contend with her. Our ultimate absorption would be inevitable."¹ "Cooped up as Canada is between lakes and rivers and the frozen North, should all the rest of the continent fall into the possession of the Americans, she would become of the smallest possible importance.... So far as England is concerned, it matters little to her perhaps whether the North West continues to fly the British flag or not; but to us it is of vital concern.... There is yet time to make up in great measure for that which has been lost. And if we are not the most supine of any people in existence, we shall prove equal to the occasion."²

One could go on indefinitely illustrating various aspects of the *Globe's* campaign. It dwelt upon the argument that with the West a part of Canada our adventurous spirits would go there instead of being lost to the United States; and that the Red and Saskatchewan valleys would make us a rival with the republic for European immigration.³ It even appealed to the French Canadians to come out of their self-centered introspection on the lower St. Lawrence and renew the achievements of their great ancestors, the fur-traders and explorers of an earlier generation.⁴ It pointed out to the manufacturers that a great market beyond lake Superior would do them far more good than anything protection could accomplish for them in the little settlements of Upper and Lower Canada.⁵ And finally when the Quebec Conference included absorption of the North West in its resolutions, the *Globe* rejoiced at victory after a long campaign. Representation by Population and the absorption of the North West, it again and again repeated, are the two great boons which Confederation brings to the people of Upper Canada. To-day when citizens of the North West are looking about for suitable methods of commemorating Confederation, it would not be a bad idea if, somewhere in that vast Red and Saskatchewan territory towards which his eyes were ever turned, they erected a statue to George Brown.

III. CONFEDERATION

Suspicion of the Grand Trunk and enthusiasm for westward expansion caused the *Globe* down to 1864 generally to pooh-pooh proposals for closer union with the Lower Provinces down by the sea. It regarded union at some day as inevitable but thought that it must be a slow work

¹ April 2, 1862.

² Jan. 27, 1864.

³ See articles of Feb. 5, 1857; Feb. 27, July 15, 1862; Feb. 5, 1863.

⁴ See article of Feb. 3, 1863.

⁵ See article of Feb. 5, 1863.

of time; and especially it was convinced that most of the closer-union proposals, in so far as they emanated from any Canadian source, were merely a blind to turn attention away from its agitation for the rights of Upper Canada. When finally, on the formation of the Coalition in 1864, Brown went in whole-heartedly for a general Confederation, the *Globe's* main arguments for it were that it gave Upper Canada what she had been struggling for—control of her own local affairs and a proper influence, based on her population, over general affairs, together with the great future which the empire of the West would bring. The arguments that union with the Maritimes would give Canada new markets in the East and an outlet to the ocean and would make her stronger defensively against the American Goths and Vandals who (according to British and Canadian Imperialists) were gazing with envy on her fair fields—these arguments never impressed the *Globe* very much.¹

From his entry into public life Brown had been preaching Representation by Population, a sacred cause which the *Globe* always refused to slight by calling it Rep. by Pop. Simple Representation by Population in a legislative union would, of course, have tended to mean the domination of Lower by Upper Canada; though the *Globe* always put its argument in the form of a demand for the emancipation of Upper Canada from Lower Canadian domination. Every year Brown or one of his friends forced a debate and a division in the Assembly on the question; and they gradually made such headway that it became more and more difficult for an Upper Canada member of either party—at least for a member from west of Kingston—to vote against their demand. When in March, 1864, the last patched-up ministry before the great Coalition was got together, the *Globe* boasted that John A. had had to take into his Cabinet the only two representatives from West of Kingston left in the Assembly who still voted against Representation by Population—Simpson of Niagara and Isaac Buchanan of Hamilton.²

But the Brownites were able to make no inroads on the solid Lower Canadian phalanx opposed to their demand. In the 1856 debate A. A. Dorion, the leader of the Rouges, suggested some form of federalism as a solution of the difficulties between the two sections,³ and so opened a new phase of the question. The suggestion apparently made little impression on the western Grits who continued to agitate for Representation by Population or dissolution of the Union. But when the Brown-Dorion ministry was formed in 1858 the two leaders made some sort of an agreement to work out a *modus vivendi* which would satisfy both Upper and Lower Canada and which would include guarantees—whether of a federal nature or otherwise was not specified—for the peculiar institutions of Lower Canada. What they might have accomplished in practice they were not given a chance to prove.

In the meantime Galt had come forward with his proposal for a wider federation to include all the British North American colonies; and the Cartier-Macdonald Government which followed the two-days' ministry of Brown and Dorion committed itself to Galt's scheme. The *Globe* refused to take this sudden conversion of the "corruptionists" seriously. It was a mere trick intended to divert public attention from the scandal of the

¹ See e.g. an article of Dec. 3, 1864. On June 21, 1862, the *Globe* declared: "We in Canada do not see in the Northern army a horde of Goths and Vandals who are likely to be attracted to this Province as were the hordes of Alaric to the rich plains of Italy."

² April 1, 1864.

³ Reported in the *Globe* of April 25.

Double Shuffle and from the past iniquities of the Coalition "desperadoes." On October 15, writing about the Cartier-Galt-Ross mission to England, the *Globe* declared: "Doubtless the Canadian delegates will endeavour to impress upon the English ministers that the only means of relieving Canada from the political evils under which she suffers is the federation of the provinces. But we fancy that Sir Bulwer Lytton has already seen and heard enough of Messrs. Galt and Ross to induce him to receive with caution anything which they may tell him. They are notoriously connected with the Grand Trunk Railway and more especially with its contractors who will be chiefly benefited by the extension of that work to the Lower Provinces; and he must be blind indeed if he cannot see that this sudden love of confederation is far more the result of the necessities of the railway than of a desire to promote the welfare of British America. The question of Representation by Population is an awkward one for the Cartier Government and they seek to engage the Imperial Government in a rash scheme of federation in order to avoid the difficulty which they have not the manliness to face. If Sir Bulwer Lytton will inquire he will discover that there is no desire on the part of the people of Canada for immediate union with the Lower Provinces. He will discover that there is no communication at present between the various sections sufficient to justify a political union; and let him beware how he endeavours to hasten an event which can only be accomplished by the cordial co-operation of all parties interested. We have every confidence that some time or other the whole of the British North American provinces will be united in one gigantic Confederation; but no one can believe that the moment has arrived for the fulfilment of that scheme. And if the Colonial Minister, to help the condemned administration of Mr. Cartier, endeavours to force such a thing upon the Canadian people, the whole effect will be to delay its accomplishment for an indefinite period. . . . The eyes of the Canadian people should be turned not to the east but to the west. The commercial advantages to be derived from a union with the Lower Provinces are hardly appreciable, while in the boundless West there lies open to us a field of enterprise which might cause wealth to flow into every city and village of our land. If the Imperial Government is willing to grant assistance for the development of British power in North America, let her grant it in aid of a Pacific railway or the founding of a great colony on lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan. That will be a work ten times more beneficial to all these provinces than a railway through the wilderness which divides Canada from New Brunswick. If we must go begging for Imperial assistance let us ask it for the opening of this magnificent country. This is an enterprise worthy of a statesman's thought; but instead of attending to it our ministers have thrown every obstacle in the way of its accomplishment. They have pandered to the monopoly which has been and is still a barrier in its path. They have done nothing to urge on the Imperial Government the necessity of action, and now they are bending their whole thoughts to the construction of a work which will benefit Messrs. Peto Brassey and Betts, but nobody else."

Again on November 5, 1858: "The shape in which the project of a Federal Union has been taken up by Sir Edmund Head's advisers does not permit of misinterpretation. The most superficial of observers cannot be tempted to accord them credit for broad statesmanlike views in connection with the subject. But the other day all of them save Mr. Galt pooh-poohed it as, for the present, an impracticability. . . . Even Mr. Galt

had so little faith in his own proposition that he allowed it to fall to the ground after the faintest possible imitation of a fight. It was evident that his action in the matter was not the offspring of strong earnest conviction but was merely undertaken with the view of bettering his political position.¹ . . . It is impossible to doubt that even now these men regard a Federal Union as nought else than a scape-goat. An Intercolonial railway is the primary object to be obtained. Messrs. Ross and Galt have studied in the school of the Grand Trunk and they approach the Intercolonial with the keenness and cunning of practised spoilsmen. . . . So the three Ministers have gone to England brimful of speculative loyalty and business-like patriotism."

To this attitude the *Globe* remained firm practically until the Coalition of 1864. Again and again in the two or three years after the Cartier-Galt-Ross Mission it pointed out that the ministry had made no further effort to develop or explain its federal scheme, a fact which was proof enough that it was not sincere in taking the scheme up in the first place.² Nor had the proposition been welcomed by the mother country or by the other colonies; the Maritime people were afraid to trust themselves to politicians who had the reputation of the railway speculators of Canada. "They decline the offer of our hand when they see the dowry we shall bring them."³

In the meantime the Upper Canada Reformers had made an advance✓ in their own political thinking. After the passion aroused by the events of the summer of 1858 had cooled down, the *Globe* began in 1859 to publish a series of very able editorials on the political situation which are remarkable in its pages for their cool philosophical tone.⁴ In its analysis it discovered two main evils: (1) the complete failure of the Union to produce an amalgamation of the two races, and the intense bitterness of feeling which had grown up in consequence; (2) the excessive influence of the executive over the legislature which freed unscrupulous ministers with money to spend on railways and public works from all the checks supposed to be provided by Responsible Government. Neither of these evils could be cured by Representation by Population alone; and so the *Globe* began to suggest that a federal system be applied to the two Canadas with a written constitution containing definite checks on the power of the executive over the people's taxes. As the year went on it warmed to the subject; and in the autumn, in November, a great Reform Convention was held in Toronto with nearly 600 delegates present from all parts of Upper Canada—though, according to Sandfield Macdonald, only 19 of these came from east of Kingston, and Sanfield himself did not attend.⁵ The Convention lasted for three days, and after long discussion and considerable opposition, Brown succeeded in inducing them to accept the proposals which the *Globe* had been advocating since the previous May. The resolutions adopted decided against a general federation of all the provinces as not practicable for the present, against simple dissolution of the Union, and for "the formation of two or more local governments, to which shall be committed the control of all matters of a local or sectional character, and some

¹ The reference is to Galt's motion for a general federation of British North America which was discussed in July, 1858, before the crisis at the end of the month developed

² See e.g. articles of Feb. 7 and 11, Sept. 21, Nov. 30, 1859; April 19, 1860.

³ Dec. 7, 1860.

⁴ See articles of May 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 23. The discussion continues through the summer in the pages of the *Globe* and there are many quotations from the Reform press of the province.

⁵ See his speech in the Assembly reported in the *Globe* of June 1, 1861.

joint authority charged with such matters as are necessarily common to both sections of the Province," with the addition that representation in the new federal system should be based on population.¹

It is worth noting that in pleading against the alternative of dissolution of the Union which found much support among some of the Grits from the Peninsula, Brown stressed the national argument. "I do place the question on the ground of nationality. I do hope that there is not one Canadian in this Assembly who does not look forward with high hope to the day when these northern colonies shall stand out among the nations of the world as one great Confederation. What true Canadian can witness the tide of immigration now commencing to flow into the vast territories of the North West without longing to have a share in the first settlement of that great fertile country? Who does not feel that to us rightfully belong the right and duty of carrying the blessings of civilization throughout those boundless regions and of making our country the highway of traffic to the Pacific? And how can there be the slightest question with one who longs for such nationality between complete dissolution and the scheme of the Committee?" (i.e. the federal scheme of the resolutions, which would make it easy for the West to be taken in as a partner in the federation).²

Federalism, however, proved no more acceptable to Lower Canada than Representation by Population had done, and the French leaders continued to impose an absolute veto on any change whatsoever. One result of this was that many of the Reformers drifted back into advocating simple Representation by Population instead of the 1859 federal scheme. And in 1862 when a chance came at last to escape from their long wandering in the wilderness of opposition, most of them were persuaded fairly easily by Sandfield Macdonald to drop for the moment both Rep. by Pop. and the 1859 platform in order to form a coalition with a group of the French led by Sicotte. The *Globe* was never more brilliant and devastating than in the editorials in which it tore Sandfield's Double Majority ideas to pieces; but it supported the new government generally because of its platform of economy and because two of its leading members, McDougall and Howland, were known to be enthusiasts for action about the North West.

By this time Mr. Watkin's diplomacy had so successfully revived the Intercolonial project that in September, 1862, a conference of the three governments concerned was held at Quebec followed by the sending of delegates to London to treat with the Colonial Office.

The *Globe* viewed all these transitions with open hostility and poured heavy sarcasm on the negotiators. "The Halifax-Quebec railway is a large work . . . and it is rather a reputable thing to be connected with it, even while it is in the distant future. No one has any objections to say a word for it and it is quite a pleasant thing to be appointed to go to England to look after its affairs. A visit to the Colonial Office, a dinner at the Secretary's, perhaps a card to Lady Palmerston's Ball, possibly a presentation at Court for Mrs. Bluenose and the Misses Bluenose—Therefore it is that in spite of frequent snubbings there is still another deputation about to visit England. The Grand Trunk and Mr. Watkin have fanned the flame which is always kept burning on the railway altars in Halifax and St. John, and the conflagration has spread through three provinces. That is to say, deputations are found to travel for the scheme

¹ Reports of the proceedings of the Convention run in the *Globe* from Nov. 10 to Nov. 16.

² The speech is reported on Nov. 16.

and newspapers to write about it. As to the public, they do not care a button about it, either in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick or Canada. We in Upper Canada look westward for communications, not eastward; we have plenty of avenues to the ocean; we have none to the ocean-like prairies of the North West. . . . The only Canadians who care a straw for the road are a few hermits in the wilderness which lies between Trois Pistoles and the New Brunswick line and the members of the Cabinet who desire to keep Mr. Watkin, the Grand Trunk agent, amused and occupied during his sojourn in this country, and hope that if the home authorities should be fools enough to grant money to the road, the Grand Trunk and themselves will make something in the scramble for the spoils which will follow."¹

When the Canadian delegates, Howland and Sicotte, by very tortuous methods, succeeded in bringing all negotiations to an end, the *Globe* exulted: "All's well that ends well. The country may congratulate itself on its escape from a railway job of even worse character than the Grand Trunk."² "The affair will be adjourned sine dine. . . . The delay is good for Upper Canada. With the railway is connected the federation scheme which at present would be carried out for the benefit of Lower Canada. Before entering into new alliances it should be the effort of Upper Canadians to regulate the affairs of their own province, to obtain Representation by Population, to open the North-West territory so that when the federation of all the British North American provinces does come it may be formed with Upper Canada as the central figure of the group of states, with western adjuncts as well as eastern."³

It is unnecessary to enter into the troublous politics of 1863 and the first half of 1864 when ministries clung to office by two or three votes and all sorts of combinations of public men were discussed officially and unofficially in the effort to devise a stable government. The *Globe* was able to survey these events with a certain unwonted detachment since Brown himself was not a member nor a candidate for membership in any of the actual or paper cabinets that were set up. Brown had been defeated in the election of 1861 and retired temporarily from politics, going on a visit to Scotland where he was married. After his return to Canada he re-entered the legislature as a member for South Oxford, and from this time his speeches and many of the articles in the *Globe* take on a new note of moderation. The note of pleading with both parties to drop partisan quarrels and face the difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada becomes increasingly frequent. One can see from the *Globe* of 1863 that Brown's willingness in June, 1864, to bury the hatchet was no sudden impulsive resolve. Whatever the reason for this new moderation, there is no doubt that it begins to be in evidence after his return with his bride in December, 1862. Perhaps the real father of Confederation was Mrs. Brown.¹

From the formation of the Coalition in June, 1864, the *Globe* is of course full of the subject of Confederation, and it would be impossible here to refer to all the points it raises in its discussions. What it is most insistent on, however, is that the scheme worked out at Charlottetown and Quebec embodies the full accomplishment of all that the Reformers of Upper Canada have been seeking for the last fifteen years.

¹ Oct. 1, 1861. This was written before the Macdonald-Sicotte ministry came into power.

² Jan. 19, 1863.

³ Jan. 6, 1863.

A long article on July 6, 1864, comparing the scheme of 1864 with the platform of 1859 concludes: "The most casual reader can scarcely fail to perceive that the policy of the Administration is substantially that enunciated in the last two of the above quoted resolutions (of 1859). The remedy for existing constitutional evils is, according to the ministerial program, to be sought in the federative principle. So it was sought in 1859. Then, as now, it was deemed advisable to give local matters to local control, while reserving for general authority matters necessarily common to both sections of the Province. In the same way, both in 1859 and 1864, the same declaration is made, that under the new system representation according to numbers must be conceded. . . . But, says an objector, the convention of 1859 declared that the formation of the larger federation was too remote a contingency to serve as an immediate remedy for the grave difficulties for which that body was seeking a remedy. The best evidence that that was a sound of opinion lies in the fact that no progress since has been made towards the realization of such a federation."

And again on October 13, 1864:

"The public will pay small attention to arguments against us based upon what we said years ago in reference to the question of confederation, when presented as a thing of the future rather than as a scheme immediately practicable, and as a means of defeating our principles rather than causing them to prevail. We never assumed the position of extreme opponents of the confederation of all the provinces. On the contrary we have always believed that the union would some day be realized. But we did refuse to be diverted from the advocacy of parliamentary reform and the opening of the North West by proposals that we should, at some future time, get confederation; and the more clear did we feel that it was our duty not to join in the premature advocacy of the measure for the reason that the offer of it was never coupled with any promise or hope that we should get along with it that justice to Upper Canada which we were advocating.

"The scheme which we declined to advocate was the intercolonial railway first; the confederation next, but at some indefinite time; and justice to Upper Canada last of all, or more likely not at all. The policy which we are now supporting reverses all this. We are getting as first and most important, justice to Upper Canada; next, confederation; and last, if at all, the railway."

Finally when at last the British North America Act was passed, what was to be the political attitude of the Upper Canada Reformers in the Dominion? Was there not some plausibility in John A. Macdonald's plea that the slate of the past should be wiped clean and that Canada and Ontario should start on their new career with non-partisan, or rather bi-partisan governments? The *Globe* would have none of it. The no-party cry was simply a device to get the old Macdonald-Cartier-Galt gang back in power again. "The intelligent yeomanry of Upper Canada who can look back on the political events of the last twenty years need no instruction as to the meaning of the no-party cry. . . . Can the men

¹ The Quebec correspondent of the *Montreal Gazette* on June 25, 1864, remarks: "Remember that since his return to parliamentary life Mr. Brown has repeatedly professed a belief in the need for greater moderation." Brown moved in Aug., 1863, for a Committee to consider the constitutional difficulties between Upper and Lower Canada but withdrew his motion later in the session owing to the unsettled state of parties. See *Globe* of Aug. 21 and 28, 1863 (weekly edition). He renewed the motion in the 1864 session and got his Committee which reported in favour of some kind of federalism on the very day that the Tache-Macdonald ministry was defeated.

fancy that the Reformers of Upper Canada do not comprehend that the main boon secured by the accomplishment of Confederation is the power to bring to an end the outrageous misgovernment of the last dozen years?"¹ And in the midst of the election campaign on August 10, it came out with a characteristic editorial on Galt's banking scheme, headed "The Danger of the Hour," which is a good summing up of the whole radical position. "With the Grand Trunk and the Bank of Montreal at his back there is no saying how far the reckless financier of the present government may carry his schemes. These institutions are the enemies of the people and of popular rights. They have special interests to advance in Parliament. It is time that Upper Canadians were united together in resisting these monopolies and the Government which has created and supported them. It is time that we had a government above being the servant of railway or banking institutions. It is time that we had a government which would consider the interest of the whole people and not of a few wily money-makers who can bring influence to bear upon Parliament. It is above all a necessity that the people of the West should elect men who will be able to prevent the mischief which Mr. Galt is still anxious to do to the interests of the western country."

And so the *Globe* plunged once more into the fray. Alas for its high hopes of reaping the fruits of victory with at least sixty good Reformers in Parliament from Upper Canada! The "corruptionists" came back to power again, and from 1867 till very recent years radicalism has been at a discount in Canada. Confederation did not bring Upper Canada into the Grit land of promise. It was again and again necessary to fight for provincial rights. Railway and other special interests were as rampant as before. The North West was an unconscionably long time in developing. And in the meantime Ontario itself changed slowly from the pioneer agricultural settlement which had produced the radical Grits of the 1850's and 1860's into the industrialized community of to-day with its fat and prosperous capital. No good Torontonians of the present generation could possibly read Brown's *Globe* without shuddering. But out in the territory of the Red and Saskatchewan the Clear Grit movement has come to life again in a fresh incarnation; and the farmers of the prairies are unconsciously reviving many of the ideas for which the farmers of what was then Western Canada strove two generations ago. With that Upper Canada which read the *Globe* and voted Grit we of the modern West have a natural affinity. It is our spiritual home.

¹April 23, 1867. A similar article of Feb. 11 runs: "We are about to reap the fruits of a long protracted struggle Constitutional changes are but the means to an end; they are but provisions to secure better government and more equitable legislation. Having triumphed in the struggle for constitutional reform, the Liberal party are of all men the most fitted to be trusted with the practical working out of the great reform they have spent so many years in accomplishing. It were worse than folly to commit that duty to those who were so long the bitter enemies of reform."

LA CONFÉDÉRATION CANADIENNE

PAR L'ABBÉ GEORGES ROBITAILLE

L'Union du Haut et du Bas Canada, opérée en 1840, n'avait pas produit toutes les conséquences voulues par ses auteurs. Sans doute, on avait désiré mettre fin aux difficultés pendantes, faire disparaître cette lutte interminable entre le Conseil exécutif et la Chambre des députés du Bas-Canada; mais on avait inscrit dans la constitution de 1840 des articles qui ne pouvaient qu'amener la guerre de races. Si en vertu de l'article XIIe (clause 41e de l'Union) l'on conservait le droit de discuter en français à la Chambre, comme par ailleurs les avis, les procès-verbaux étaient rédigés en anglais, l'anglais devenait la seule langue officielle des débats.¹

C'était introduire dans la constitution même un élément de perpétuelle discorde, et l'on pouvait croire que les députés canadiens d'origine française ne laisseraient pas dépouiller leur peuple de ce droit sacré sans jeter les hauts cris. Ce qui était à prévoir se produisit. Les Chambres du nouveau régime purent entendre dès 1842 Lafontaine réclamant en français le droit pour les Canadiens de prendre part au gouvernement du pays. "L'Acte d'Union a été passé pour nous écraser mais il n'aura pas ce résultat, vous ne pouvez gouverner sans nous."²

Le 9 décembre 1844, Lafontaine, du sein de l'opposition cette fois encore, mais après avoir connu la puissance quasi souveraine, faisait un ardent plaidoyer pour la reconnaissance légale du français dans les procès-verbaux et les procédures des Communes, et c'était la pleine victoire arrachée au gouvernement conservateur du temps.

La plénitude des droits politiques, ou si on aime mieux le gouvernement pleinement responsable au peuple, était obtenue sous cette Union que l'on n'avait pas imposée à cet effet; la parfaite égalité des deux langues en théorie et en pratique étant également assurée, quelles pouvaient donc être les difficultés qui amèneraient une autre forme de gouvernement? C'est que l'Union des deux provinces était bâtie sur un principe dangereux; l'égalité numérique des députés malgré l'inégalité de la population pour chaque province. Le Bas-Canada se composait de 650,000 âmes en 1841; le Haut n'en possédait guère plus de 400,000. En 1864, les choses avaient bien changé: c'était la province du Haut qui avait un excédent de population de plus de 300,000 habitants. Le Bas-Canada était devenu une minorité.

Ce fut la vraie raison du changement de la constitution. Les Anglais devenaient de plus en plus menaçants sous la poussée violente de George Brown. Ce dernier en voulait à l'Eglise catholique et à la langue française. Il avait soulevé un nombre considérable de Haut-Canadiens auxquels il avait infusé ses préjugés religieux et britanniques, et les circonstances lui furent étrangement favorables.

Il ne s'offrait que deux ou trois formes possibles de gouvernement nouveau. Ou bien revenir à l'ancienne séparation absolue des deux provinces, c'est-à-dire revenir à la constitution de 1791, en ayant bien soin tout de même de la faire bénéficier de la plénitude des droits acquis depuis 1841; mais à vrai dire, personne ne paraît avoir songé à ce retour en arrière.³

¹ Cf. Prince, p. 69, dans les *Mémoires*, Congrès de Québec, 1912.

² Cf. abbé Adélaré Desrosiers, *Histoire du Canada*, p. 434, 1919.

³ Voir pourtant le discours de MacDonald, *Débats*, 1865, p. 29.

Seules étaient présentées au public l'Union législative pure et simple, mise en activité par des députés élus au *pro rata* de la population et réalisant déjà la parole que Gladstone devait un jour prononcer: *One man, one vote*, ou bien l'Union fédérative, la Confédération.

De l'Union législative basée sur la majorité absolue, les Canadiens-Français ne voulaient pas du tout. C'eût été assurer la disparition de la race française en Amérique. C'eût été commettre une lâcheté à nulle autre comparable que d'accepter pareilles propositions. Parce que l'union législative fonctionnant grâce à des députés élus au *pro rata* de la population, c'était permettre à une majorité étrangère à notre race et à notre religion de gérer toutes nos affaires, c'est-à-dire même l'éducation, la législation municipale, les droits civils des Canadiens-Français. Et c'est pourtant ce régime que tentaient d'établir les appels passionnés de George Brown et de ses partisans. C'est alors que nos hommes publics dont Cartier et Macdonald s'efforcèrent de rallier une majorité au projet de l'Union fédérative des deux provinces, comportant deux parlements, l'un fédéral ou central, l'autre provincial ou local. Une clause permettait aux autres colonies anglaises de l'Amérique britannique du Nord d'en faire partie.

Cette Union fédérative garantirait tous les droits acquis et permettrait au pays de se développer indéfiniment, grâce à un gouvernement central unique et puissant, dont la juridiction s'étendrait à toutes les matières, sauf à celles explicitement concédées aux législatures provinciales. Les droits des provinces et ceux du fédéral seraient soigneusement indiqués dans la constitution. Rien ne serait laissé au hasard ou à la bonne volonté des parlements. Les minorités seraient protégées efficacement. Quels étaient ceux qui exposaient ces principes? Les chefs canadiens et anglais, tout le ministère de 1864: Taché, John A. Macdonald, Georges-Etienne Cartier, Galt, Chapais, McGee, Langevin, et bientôt George Brown lui-même qui, pour réaliser une part de son projet, c'est-à-dire la représentation basée sur la population, consentait à remiser ses haines et à se faire le protecteur des minorités.

Les objections des jeunes libéraux sous les ordres des Lanctôt, Jetté, DeLorimier, Dorion, avaient-elles quelque poids? Ils assuraient que l'Union fédérale amènerait infailliblement le triomphe des Anglais au Canada; que, en face d'une majorité compacte et exigeante, nos Canadiens devenus vraiment minorité seraient forcés de faire de sempiternelles concessions.¹

Ont-ils vu clairement que dans l'une ou l'autre des provinces, sauf dans la province de Québec, à chaque décade tel ou tel droit serait attaqué, mis en discussion et souvent qu'il nous serait enlevé? Ont-ils aperçu la conscription militaire de 1917 imposée à la province de Québec par un parlement fédéral? Sans doute que les francs rouges, malheureusement liés quelque peu au radicalisme français, ont eu une certaine vision de ces funestes conséquences, mais ils n'ont pas su en convaincre leurs compatriotes de la Chambre, ni même ceux du dehors. Aux Communes 27 députés bas-canadiens votèrent pour la Confédération; et aux élections de 1867, la province de Québec presque entière se montra favorable à la nouvelle constitution. La vérité c'est qu'on était dans une impasse et il s'agissait d'en sortir. Personne ne trouvait autre chose que l'Union fédérale ou le *statu quo* ou l'Union législative pure et simple. Il semble bien difficile de blâmer nos pères d'avoir opté pour l'Union fédérative. Ils ont eu foi dans l'avenir, et sans doute ils ont cru qu'eux-mêmes ou leurs fils sauraient maintenir les droits menacés.

¹ Voir le discours de A.-A. Dorion, dans les *Débats sur la Confédération*, le 16 février 1865, p. 248ss.

Le Canada vivant d'une vie commune; le Canada progressant rapidement et s'étendant du golfe Saint-Laurent à la Colombie Canadienne; le Canada relié par de puissantes lignes de chemin de fer et les habitants de Charlottetown pouvant utiliser sans surenchère les produits mûris sur des terres touchant à l'Océan Pacifique; les blés de l'Ouest nourrissant des peuples entiers et des villes se bâtant dans les plaines ou sur le versant occidental des Rocheuses. Voilà ce qu'apercevaient les Pères de la Confédération, voilà ce qu'ils voulaient surtout. Ce fut leur rêve. On n'a qu'à feuilleter le gros volume des *Débats sur la Confédération* publié à Québec, par l'ordre du Parlement, en 1865 même, pour partager un peu leur optimisme. Le discours de notre ministre des Finances d'alors est particulièrement intéressant. On peut lire à la page 61 des *Débats* ces paroles prononcées par A.-T. Galt, le représentant de Sherbrooke:

"En traitant la première question, savoir: Si les intérêts des provinces gagneront à l'Union, je soumettrai à la chambre quelques observations sur les ressources matérielles de l'Amérique Britannique du Nord. Dans les fertiles terres à blé de l'Ouest, nous possédons peut-être un des plus beaux pays agricoles du monde; nous possédons dans le Canada-est et dans le Canada central, des facilités pour les industries manufacturières qui ne sont inférieures à aucune dans tout le monde, pendant que les provinces maritimes possèdent en abondance le plus précieux des minéraux, le charbon, et les pêcheries les plus magnifiques et les plus riches de l'univers, s'étendant, à travers notre territoire, sur un parcours de 2,000 milles en suivant le plus beau fleuve navigable du monde. Nous pouvons donc espérer l'extension la plus considérable du commerce du Canada.

Mais ce n'est pas tant la grande étendue d'un pays qui fait sa force et son importance réelle que la diversité des intérêts qui peuvent s'y développer. C'est la variété des ressources qui le met à l'abri des cruels revers auxquels est sujet tout pays dont la prospérité dépend d'un seul genre d'industrie. Des tarifs prohibitifs ont entravé le libre échange des produits coloniaux, et un des avantages les plus grands et les plus immédiats qui devra naître de cette Union sera le renversement de ces barrières et l'ouverture du marché de chacune des colonies aux produits de l'industrie de toutes les autres. Nous pouvons donc espérer fournir un jour à Terre-Neuve et aux vastes pêcheries du golfe les produits agricoles du Canada-ouest; aller chercher nos approvisionnements de charbon à la Nouvelle-Ecosse et voir s'ouvrir à l'industrie manufacturière du Bas-Canada des débouchés aux articles que l'étranger seul nous achète."

S'ils avaient pu lire clairement dans l'avenir, sans doute les constructeurs du nouvel édifice canadien auraient été plus explicites dans les articles qui protègent nos droits en dehors de la province de Québec. Pourquoi n'avoir pas assuré les mêmes garanties aux 250,000 catholiques habitant le Haut-Canada que celles accordées aux 165,000 protestants peuplant le Bas-Canada? ¹ Pourquoi surtout n'avoir pas pris de bonnes précautions sur la question du français que parlaient plus de 70,000 âmes dans la province du Haut?

Certes les textes de loi sont souvent bien peu de chose, mais faut-il les négliger? L'occasion était excellente de faire coucher dans la constitution canadienne des droits réels, des droits sacrés, fondés sur l'imprescriptible loi naturelle, contredite jamais par aucune loi positive de nos statuts?²

¹ Cf. Groux, *La Confédération*, 1918, p. 184.

² Sur cette question du droit naturel à la langue maternelle par tout le Canada, un des travaux les plus clairs et les plus convaincants est sans doute l'excellent discours de l'avocat J.-E. Prince, Premier Congrès de la Langue française au Canada (24-30 juin 1912). *Mémoires*, Québec, L'Action Sociale, 1914. Sans oublier le puissant plaidoyer de M. Henri Bourassa, 19 mai 1915: *La Langue française au Canada*.

Notre droit à la langue française par tout le Canada repose sur ce fait qu'en 1763 "il existait une nationalité canadienne-française sur les bords du Saint-Laurent, à laquelle se rapportaient comme à leur centre des groupes disséminés sur tout le continent Nord-Amérique, depuis les Grands Lacs jusqu'à la mer, et depuis la Baie d'Hudson jusqu'à la Louisiane."¹ Or la langue est un des éléments essentiels de la nationalité. Et retenez que "l'existence des nations, c'est-à-dire de la nationalité, est indépendante de leur autonomie." Si donc celui qui acquiert un territoire doit respecter la nationalité de sa conquête, il doit absolument en respecter la langue. C'est que le droit international se joint au droit naturel pour protéger l'idiome de nos pères. Même s'il se trouvait dans la constitution la lettre qui tuerait la "parlure" ancestrale, cette lettre étant injuste ne serait pas le droit. Alors? De toute façon nos droits demeurent intacts. Tout de même l'expérience enseigne qu'il ne faut pas se priver des protections possibles en prévision des injustices futures. Et c'est pourquoi l'on se prend à regretter que les Pères de la Confédération — que nos Pères — aient fait preuve d'un optimisme dont bon gré mal gré il faut se défaire.

* * * En fait, la Confédération canadienne a-t-elle donné des résultats? Certes, quel Canadien peut nier l'évidence des progrès matériels accomplis? Quelle marche en avant depuis 1867! Grâce à l'Union fédérative, le Canada s'est donné un gouvernement puissant, capable d'utiliser les ressources inépuisables d'un pays immense. Le rêve des Pères sous ce rapport, je ne dis pas qu'il a été dépassé, mais réalisé. Nous voyons de nos yeux ce qu'ils ont préparé. Gloire leur en soit rendue et ne mesquignons pas pour louer le bien obtenu. A Dieu d'abord, aux Pères ensuite. Nous ne pouvons tout de même pas laisser passer ce Soixantenaire (1867-1927) sans rappeler que le progrès matériel n'est pas tout. Il y a quelque chose de bien meilleur. C'est le progrès intellectuel, moral et religieux. Si notre entité ethnique disparaît, si nous perdons ce qui nous distingue comme peuple, si nous devenons anglais, que nous importe que nous abondions de richesses matérielles? Pascal écrivait: "De tous les corps ensemble, on ne pourrait faire réussir une petite pensée". Et Henri Bordeaux, l'académicien, un des maîtres de l'heure, ne vient-il pas d'écrire hardiment dans l'une des plus importantes revues de France, que "le progrès scientifique, le progrès industriel, le progrès matériel ne se relie aucunement au progrès humain. Au contraire, il déchaîne fatalement plus d'envies, plus de désirs, plus d'ambitions, une lutte plus âpre des appétits et des convoitises." Nous ne sommes donc pas si arriérés de venir juger la Confédération canadienne par des considérations d'ordre supérieur. Même à ce point de vue, nous croyons que tous les résultats n'ont pas été mauvais. Par cette constitution de 1867, nous avons pu quelque chose pour la protection de nos idées françaises et catholiques par tout le Canada. Nous avons pu du moins faire entendre nos réclamations dans la plus haute tribune du pays, au parlement même du Canada tout entier. Sans la Confédération, aurions-nous maintenu nos positions dans l'Ontario et au Manitoba, et dans les provinces maritimes? Sans doute nous y avons perdu depuis 1867; mais il faudrait nous montrer que sans 1867 et depuis cette date tous les droits acquis y auraient été conservés par les nôtres.

Par ailleurs, il faut bien que nous constations que l'Union fédérale n'a protégé nulle part tous les droits acquis sauf dans la province de Québec; que le Parlement fédéral a laissé se perpétrer — s'il n'en fut pas lui-même

¹ Prince, p. 60.

l'auteur — des violations des droits garantis, d'abord au Nouveau-Brunswick en 1872; ensuite en 1890-1897 au Manitoba. En 1905, quand il s'est agi de fonder les deux nouvelles provinces de l'Ouest, la Saskatchewan et l'Alberta, la majorité de notre parlement n'a pas donné à l'école française et confessionnelle la plénitude de ses droits. Et en 1927, à propos des ressources naturelles de l'Alberta, on nous menace des mêmes injustices que lors de l'annexion du Keewatin à la province du Manitoba en 1912. Que nous réserve l'avenir et quel sera "notre avenir politique"? Sortirons-nous de la Confédération? Y resterons-nous? Graves problèmes qui ne doivent pas être traités à la légère, à la solution desquels doivent s'appliquer les meilleures intelligences de la province, du Canada tout entier. Disons du moins que si nous restons fidèles à l'Union fédérative, nous entendons y être respectés non seulement dans la province de Québec, mais par toutes les provinces. Nous entendons que le parlement d'Ottawa tienne compte de l'article 93e de l'Acte de l'Amérique britannique du Nord, et de cet autre article sur lequel se fondent si clairement nos droits, le 133e; nous voulons être traités en égaux, non en race inférieure.

Que tous les politiques de langue anglaise s'en avisent.

Il ne faudrait pas enfin que la conscription de 1917 se répât par trop souvent. Ce serait vraiment mettre en péril la Confédération. Sans doute les questions militaires sont du ressort du gouvernement central; mais on ne peut tout de même pas froisser sans grave danger les sentiments de près de trois millions d'associés, dont le concours est nécessaire au fonctionnement de la machine gouvernementale.

Espérons que la sagesse des peuples finira par triompher grâce à ceux qui tiennent entre leurs mains les destinées du Canada, et que nous atteindrons le milieu du XXe siècle dans la paix, dans la concorde, dans le respect mutuel, toutes choses qui ne s'obtiennent que par la justice et sous le souffle de l'Esprit de Dieu.

BRITISH COLUMBIA'S ENTRY INTO CONFEDERATION

BY JUDGE F. W. HOWAY

The entry of British Columbia rounded out the Dominion of Canada and gave it a face towards the Pacific. The geographical position of the province is so commanding that it may be said to be the keystone, if not of the Canada that is, then assuredly of the Canada that is to be.

The struggle for union was a conflict of currents and cross-current whose origins are to be found, in some cases, far back in its story.

The discovery of gold in the bars of the Fraser brought in 1858 an influx of miners and merchants from California. It is scarce an exaggeration to say that the Fraser river mines were only the Feather and the Yuba mines transplanted to British soil. Before the advent of these Californians Victoria had been merely a Hudson's Bay Company's post which, thoroughly British, depended entirely upon Puget sound and San Francisco for its regular connection with the world. The first independent merchants, bankers, express companies, steamboats, and mail facilities were American. The whole trade of the region, save that in the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company, drained into San Francisco. California newspapers circulated in the mines; the goods demanded by and supplied to the miners came, almost entirely, from California; the money they handled, if any, was American from California; the main topics of discussion were incidents of California, past or present. At the end of each season many of the miners left for California to spend the winter. The life of the colony was thus closely intertwined with that of California. These conditions, somewhat ameliorated by British and Canadian immigration, continued until long after Confederation, and are the genesis of the small but loud-mouthed annexation party—the bogey of the politicians.

The discovery of the Cariboo mines in the sixties drew many to the colony from England and Eastern Canada. Thus when Confederation began to be in the air the small white population had four divisions: the American element and its sympathisers, practically confined to Victoria, who urged annexation; the eastern Canadians who held up both hands for union and responsible government; the British section who held up one hand for union, but had no fixed view on responsible government; and the disinterested remainder who had no opinions on either.

To return to the source of other difficulties. The arrival of the miners in 1858 led to the formation of the Colony of British Columbia, which included the mainland and adjacent islands. Vancouver Island, however, then was and, until 1866, remained a separate colony. Cariboo lay four hundred miles in the interior of British Columbia. To give access to its wealth that colony built at an expense of probably a million and a half of dollars the great Cariboo wagon road. Of this sum more than six hundred thousand dollars were borrowed. The mainland colony was under heavy customs duties, heavy tolls on the roads, and heavy taxes to meet its bonded debt. The island colony had free trade. The wholesale merchants and the larger traders were all located in Victoria. They absorbed the greater part of the business of the mines; to be in turn absorbed by San Francisco. The miners who did not winter in Cariboo or in California spent the lay-over period in Victoria. British Columbia had the mines and the

burdens while Vancouver Island, that is, Victoria, had the lion's share of the benefits. Thereout originated an animosity between the two colonies—a feeling which was fed by many petty jealousies and differences. This grew until it reached the position that the mere fact that a plan was supported by the island was almost reason enough for opposition thereto on the part of the mainland, especially the Fraser valley, and *vice versa*. In the result the two colonies, by nature mutually complementary, became mutually distrustful and hostile.

Again. In the island colony the machinery for law-making was intricate enough for one of a hundred-fold its population: governor, council, and legislative assembly. On the mainland it was much simpler: from 1858 to 1864 the governor alone, subject to disallowance, made the laws; from 1864 onward the legislative function was vested in a legislative council—a partly representative body—the majority of whose members were government officials appointed by the governor. The two colonies, mutually hostile, struggled along under a heavy debt: British Columbia, over \$1,000,000; Vancouver Island, about \$300,000. And year by year the balance sheet of each showed a deficit. By an Act passed in 1866 the British Parliament united the two antagonistic colonies, under the name of British Columbia. The Act of Union provided that the customs tariff of the mainland should apply to the united colony, and that the law-making authority should be the Legislative Council of the mainland, enlarged to afford representation to Vancouver Island. There was dissatisfaction in Vancouver Island because of the loss of its free port and its representative legislative assembly. On the mainland the union was a grievous disappointment, against which it had struggled for years. But in both sections the feeling was tempered by the thought that relief from heavy burdens had come; that great economy would be effected and taxation reduced by dispensing with one complete staff of civil servants.

The hope was not realized. With the union Governor Seymour of the old Colony of British Columbia became the Governor of the united colony. Seymour was a kindly man, but he lacked the initiative and determination so necessary for the governor of a Crown colony. It was soon apparent that he was not strong enough to apply the pruning knife and reduce the two sets of officials to one set. Taxation remained high; population constantly decreased. At this time also the economic condition was changing. The gold mines which had brought the population were showing, and had shown for some years, unmistakable signs of waning. Agriculture, manufacturing, lumbering, and fishing, where they existed, were in their earliest infancy. The colony could still be accurately described in Governor Seymour's words as a road with a gold mine at one end and a seaport town at the other. There was but little in the colony to retain the population. In 1867 the number of inhabitants had fallen to less than ten thousand. On them the burden of taxation lay heavily, and the more so because of the disappointed hope.

In these conditions a light appeared in the east: the dawn of Confederation. It offered a road to relief. Others had unloaded their debts upon the Dominion. The Legislative Council in 1867 unanimously resolved that it was desirable to unite the colony with the new Canada and requested the Governor to take steps to that end. But Seymour had no real interest in the movement. He frankly stated that he regarded it as the expression of a disheartened community looking for a change. His inaction aroused the public to action. They realized that upon their exertions the result largely depended. A public meeting held in Victoria, in January, 1868,

declared that the people desired union with Canada; that the Governor and the Legislative Council were supine; and requested that the Imperial Government instruct Governor Seymour to conclude negotiations for the admission of the colony. Tentative terms were suggested. They are illuminating. In the forefront was placed the relief of the colony from its existing debt, estimated at \$1,500,000; then followed provisions for federal services, a sufficient subsidy for the support of local government, proper representation, the construction of a wagon road to connect with the eastern part of Canada, and representative institutions.

The people of British Columbia were not asking for impossibilities. They knew that the question could not be settled until the intervening territory under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company had been obtained by Canada. But they knew that no assistance could be sought from the Governor, even in their efforts to solidify public opinion. Their diagnosis proved to be correct. In April, 1868, the supporters of Confederation brought into the Legislative Council draft terms of union. Its opponents carried an amendment declaring that while in favour of Confederation the members had not sufficient information to enable them to define advantageous terms. The majority included the official members and three "popular" representatives, two of whom were from Vancouver Island, the home of annexation and opposition.

It was plain that no headway could be made in the Legislative Council under Governor Seymour. The constitution of that body—the governor had the unfettered selection of the majority, i.e. 14 out of 23—made its voice merely his voice. "The belief had now become firmly fixed, and it was well founded, that he and his nominees, the official members of the Legislative Council, were determined to balk the popular desire. The main basis of that desire, as has been already hinted, lay in the hope of escape from the annual deficits and the consequent burden of increasing taxation. It is true that the leaders in the movement had vision of a united Canada stretching from sea to sea; but the populace saw in it, chiefly, a relief from their present and pressing pecuniary burdens. Thus it happened that the form of government, the civil list, and the alleged mal-administration of colonial affairs took their places in the Confederation discussion."

In May, 1868, a Confederation League was formed in Victoria. That community was then much divided; one party strongly supported Confederation; another as strongly opposed it; while another favoured annexation to the United States. Branches of the league were established in New Westminster, Hope, Yale, Lytton, and Cariboo. The press of the colony was solidly behind the movement. In the summer of 1868 a convention was held by the league at Yale to accelerate the admission of the colony into the Dominion, to urge the introduction of responsible government, and to discuss the country's grievances. The terms of union then put forward were practically those that had been before the legislative Council a few months previous, with the addition of a free port. The Legislative Council was denounced as having "no real independence," as "a sham legislature," as being only the Governor and his Executive Council in another form. The remedy offered was to obtain responsible government. In the debates and resolutions upon the grievances it was claimed that the deficit for 1867 was about \$130,000, that out of a total expenditure of nearly \$600,000 only \$52,000 were for public works; that in the estimated expenditure of over \$572,000 for 1868 \$55,800 were set down for public works—the remainder being absorbed by fixed charges for sinking fund and interest and the salaries of an army of officials. The convention attacked the civil

list and pointed out where savings could be made by merger of offices and reduction of salaries. A perfect sheaf of resolutions was handed to the Governor for transmission to Downing Street. In acknowledging their receipt he stated that some of the matters would be brought before the Legislative Council and that he would forward their request to the Home Authorities "with perfectly respectful comments." This somewhat cryptic expression leads to the inference that the castigation that he was receiving in the colonial press for his opposition to Confederation—his inaction at the outset had now become active opposition—had "flecked the raw."

The Governor's letter transmitting these resolutions to Downing Street is a fine example of Seymour at his best—or at his worst. As to the union with Canada he remarks with owl-like gravity that that is a matter which does not rest with this so-called convention. Regarding the demand for representative institutions and responsible government he declares that the legislative constitution of the country has occupied much of his attention but that he "has not been able to see a clear path before him;" that he will, however, anxiously consider the subject and it is not unlikely that it will be brought up at the next session. He did not state that he would bring it forward: and it was certain that its sponsors would. His answer to the suggested economies was that the interest on the public debt absorbed one-third of the revenue, but that he had not incurred the debt and had never appointed any official higher than a constable. Perhaps his choicest gem is this: "Were we free from debt our finances would be in a most flourishing condition."

A new Legislative Council met in December, 1868. Up to this time the supporters of Confederation had brought it forward. Now came the time of the "anti's" who boldly moved that: "This Council impressed with the conviction that under existing circumstances the Confederation of the Colony with the Dominion of Canada would be undesirable, even if practicable, urges Her Majesty's Government not to take any decisive steps towards the consummation of such Union." The confederationists offered amendments to the effect that until the intervening territory had been transferred to the Crown it would be premature to express any definite opinion. On the vote they were decisively beaten: only mustering five supporters—all from the mainland. The next day they entered upon the minutes a protest declaring that the vote did not fairly reflect public opinion, and starting that: "The Colonists resident on the mainland, the larger and more productive portion of the united Colony, together with a large minority in Vancouver Island, are nearly unanimous in favour of Confederation upon fair and equitable terms, when the proper time shall come for its consummation. This will appear," the protest continued, "from the simple fact that all the Elective Members from the mainland were returned as Confederationists and every one of those members now joins in this protest." The opponents of Confederation, not to be outdone, countered the next day with their protest which claimed that it was necessary to express an opinion on this subject as it had for the first time been brought before their constituents in the recent elections and as the Governor had invited the discussion, which in the result had rescinded the resolutions of the two preceding years. This counter-protest went on to allege that efforts were being made to induce the Home Authorities to unite the colony with the Dominion, and concluded with the statement that all the four members elected for Vancouver Island were anti-confederationists.

But while these vacillations and recriminations were occurring the transfer of Rupert's Land to the Crown was concluded. In March, 1869, the Hudson's Bay Company for £300,000 surrendered (subject to certain reservations) all its rights in and to that vaguely defined region. This enabled Sir John A. Macdonald to write:—

"It is quite clear that no time should be lost by Lord Granville in putting the screws on at Vancouver Island, and the first thing to be done will be to recall Governor Seymour, if his time is not out. Now that the Hudson's Bay Company has succumbed, and it is their interest to make things pleasant with the Canadian Government, they will, I have no doubt, instruct their people to change their anti-Confederate tone. We shall then have to fight only the Yankee adventurers, and the annexation party proper, which there will be no difficulty in doing, if we have a good man at the helm."

This letter shows, as is well known, that the Dominion Government was in correspondence with the chief movers in the cause of union and was fully aware of every motion in the conflict of currents. The manifest desire to speed the inevitable had a retarding effect, and proved a distinct hindrance. The diary of the late D. W. Higgins, the editor of the *British Colonist*, one of the prominent supporters of union and responsible government, has, in 1868, an entry:—

"Had an audience with cabinet. Saw Sir John A. Macdonald, Tilley, Langevin, Chapais, Campbell, and Rose. Told them the wants of colony, and expenses \$517,000. No markets. Last year \$701,000. Seymour imbecile. Corroborated by Waddington."

The vote rejecting Confederation was in February, 1869. A month later the boundaries of Canada had been extended, by the inclusion of the Hudson's Bay territories, to the borders of British Columbia; and in June 1869 Governor Seymour suddenly died. The way was now cleared. His successor, Anthony Musgrave, was appointed within two days after the arrival of the news. This selection had been made some time previously, in anticipation of Seymour's intended application for sick leave. The Dominion Government had urged it because of Musgrave's known "prudence, discretion, and loyalty to the cause of Confederation." The Imperial Government now entered the lists as a zealous champion of the union. Following close upon the heels of his appointment came a despatch from the Colonial Office stating that it was in favour of union and setting forth cogent arguments in support. The Secretary of State for the Colonies indicated further that he was expressing this view "for the consideration of the community and the guidance of Her Majesty's servants." In accordance with his instructions Governor Musgrave gave wide publicity to this despatch.

It thus appears that the British Government was well aware that the opposition of the officials was now the great obstacle. These officials numbered fourteen: five members of the Governor's Executive Council and nine magistrates. The magistrates actually held the balance of power. If they could be got to side with the five elected members (or "popular members," as they were called) from the mainland, who were all supporters of Confederation, the scheme could be passed through the Legislative Council. Then would remain only the question of terms satisfactory to the people; for the trouble in Nova Scotia had shown that the electors must be consulted. As Sir John A. Macdonald wrote:—

"We have had an infinity of trouble in Nova Scotia, although both the Government and the Legislature agreed to the Union, because the question was not submitted to the electors."

The press of the colony and the supporters of Confederation had stated over and over that the opposition of the official members had its root in

their fear for their own positions. Musgrave found this to be true. The magistrates are on record as declaring that they voted for Confederation:—

“Solely at the instance of the then Governor, Mr. Musgrave, on the distinct and repeated assurance from him as the representative of the Queen, that under the terms of Confederation they would be placed in the permanent service of the Dominion Government as County Court Judges and be totally independent of and without the control of the Provincial Government.”

Having thus obtained the support of the magistrates, Musgrave secured the adhesion of the other officials—the Executive Council—by the promise of pensions, as provided in section six of the Terms of Union.

Favourable consideration of the principle being thus assured, Musgrave and his council set themselves to the work of drafting the terms. In this portion of the task the Governor faced four difficulties: the free port for Victoria; responsible government; a railway as a material bond of union; and the financial terms. It is impossible within time limitations to enter into all the details of his plan. He refused to include a free port or responsible government. His correspondence shows that in his view there was not likely to be for many years sufficient trade to make a free port of any substantial benefit to the colony. It was, he said, admitted with unblushing effrontery that the abolition of all duties and port charges would facilitate smuggling into the United States. And from this position, despite much pressure, he never receded. He regarded responsible government as entirely unsuitable to a community so small and so constituted—a sparse population scattered over a vast area of country. On this subject he was forced to yield ground—though he never changed his opinion and never included it in his terms. He held the view that the crux of the situation lay in the promise of an overland communication. The great barrier range of the Rockies cut off British Columbia so completely from Eastern Canada that unless it could be overcome the union would be only nominal. He thus expressed himself:—

“Free commercial intercourse would be easier with Australia than Canada; and the administration of official departments could practically be conducted with equally great facility in London as in Ottawa.”

His terms asked for a wagon road to be built within three years and railway connection at the earliest possible date: \$1,000,000 to be spent in its construction annually beginning at the end of three years: His principal financial terms were: Canada should assume the colonial debt, and should pay interest on the difference between that amount and an estimated debt based on the average indebtedness per capita of the other provinces; the population should be taken at 120,000 (in reality, including Indians, it was about one-quarter of that number). Canada should pay \$35,000 a year and eighty cents a head on the supposed 120,000 of population, for the support of the local government.

These terms were placed before the Legislative Council, composed of the same persons with three exceptions as had rejected Confederation under Governor Seymour in the preceding year. In considering them the council pointed out the injurious effect which the Canadian tariff would have on the agricultural and commercial interests of the colony. Provisions to meet this objection later found place in the accepted terms. Some trifling alterations were made in the financial arrangements and the whole scheme accepted without a dissenting vote! This proves the accuracy of

the Honourable John Robson's forecast: After the vote of 1868 he had written in *The British Columbian*:—

"It must be remembered that should Her Majesty's Government decide on the change, the official members of the Council would, as a matter of course, do as they were bid. It was thumbs down on Confederation last session, because Simon said, 'Thumbs down'; but if Simon says, 'Thumbs up', up the official thumbs will go."

A delegation carried the proposed terms to Ottawa for discussion with the Dominion Government. Though they contained no provision for responsible government, as has been stated, and though the Legislative Council, as the shadow of the Governor's will, had refused to include it, yet its supporters, who were all prominent confederationists were determined and would not accept defeat. Mr. John Robson, one of the moulders of public opinion, had declared:—

"We shall fight for and have Responsible Government. . . . We shall enter Confederation with privileges equal to other Provinces."

With the delegation went a supporter of responsible government. His arguments convinced the Dominion authorities, as Sir Charles Tupper stated, "that the province was sufficiently advanced to entitle it to representative institutions." A clause to effect that object was added during the conferences in Ottawa.

The terms suggested by British Columbia were accepted with certain alterations: the wagon road disappeared and in its stead came the promise of a railway to be begun within two years; the population was reduced to 60,000, which, even including Indians, was double its real number. But this reduction and some other changes made the total annual contributions about \$100,000 less than the delegates could accept. A deadlock seemed to have been reached. Then Sir George Etienne Cartier stepped forward with a plan for the grant of land by the colony in aid of the railroad and an annual contribution of \$100,000 in exchange. The news of settlement of the terms was telegraphed to the colony, Great were the rejoicings!

The Legislative Council was now reduced in number and changed in constitution so that of its fifteen members, nine should be elected and six appointed. At the election in November, 1870, the simple question was: "Shall we have Confederation on the terms arranged?" The answer was an unequivocal: "Yes!" All the elected representatives were supporters of Confederation.

In January, 1871, the first Legislative Council in which the people's will was supreme, met and without discussion, save the remarks of the mover and seconder, adopted the agreed terms and passed the necessary address. Then followed an Act introducing responsible government, which was to come into force on proclamation.

The date of British Columbia's entry into the Dominion was fixed as July 20, 1871; and she entered, as John Robson had declared she would, with a constitution granting responsible government.

Thus within two years Musgrave had completely changed the hostile Legislative Council and won it unanimously over to Confederation; had drafted and passed tentative terms of union; and had secured their acceptance with slight alterations by the Dominion Government and the people of British Columbia. He remained in British Columbia to see the fruition of his labours—the joyful first Dominion Day—July 20, 1871. Five days later he sailed on H.M.S. *Sparrowhawk*.

CANADIAN CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

BY J. C. WEBSTER

Throughout the civilized world, there are certain well recognized standards by which the culture of a community may be determined. These are fine architecture, sculpture and painting; an appreciation for good music, dramatic art, and literature; high educational standards, indicated by the influence exerted by institutions of learning on the life, thought and development of the people. Among the tangible and material evidences may be mentioned private and public libraries and art collections, museums, good theatres, concerts, lectures, exhibitions of works of art, development of villages, towns, cities, and parks with some regard for aesthetic appearances.

In making a survey of the Dominion of Canada for such evidences of cultural development, I shall endeavour to avoid both excessive self-laudation and hyper-criticism. In order to be fair, the country should be considered sectionally. By far the largest part of Canada is the newest, viz., the entire territory west of Ontario. Its development, almost entirely within the last sixty years, has necessarily been mainly material. We could scarcely expect any marked evidences of cultural interests, yet, it is with great satisfaction that we note that the latter have not been neglected. Each western province has realized the need of establishing a system of higher education, and various institutions have been started which promise to be important factors in the intellectual life of the different communities.

For the purposes of this paper, the Canada under consideration comprises Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. What standard are we to adopt in endeavouring to fix our status among the nations? "What do they know of England who only England know?" and I might also ask in a somewhat different sense, "What do they know of Canada who only Canada know?"

Those whose knowledge of the world is confined to an experience of their own country are surely unfit to express an opinion of their real standing in the comity of nations. Our own estimate of ourselves must be measured against that which is expressed by those who have a much wider range of experience. Canada's standing must, therefore be established by a comparison with the leading civilized communities of the world but to give to it its due rank is a task of some difficulty. One can confidently say, I believe, that it would be higher in the scale than Patagonia, and lower than France, Sweden or Holland.

LITERATURE

Apart from newspapers and a small number of magazines and books, Canada has as yet but a meager well-established literature of her own. How unimportant this is may be estimated by considering the yearly output of Great Britain. If one is familiar with the Literary Supplement of the *London Times*, which appears weekly, with its long lists of new books of travel, history, literature and criticism, science, archæology, philosophy, fiction, etc., it is easy to estimate the amazing productivity of the nation in

this field of endeavour. No matter what disturbances affect the country—great strikes, economic crises or wars, the output continues. Even during the Great World War though there was diminished activity there was no cessation and the thought of the country continued to find expression through the medium of the printing press.

Judged by such a standard, how pitifully small is Canada's literary effort. This is surely an indication that there is but a very small part of the population which has any appreciation for good literature, even of its own writers. That it has scarcely any greater desire for the best of other countries is evidenced by the character of the book-stores throughout the country at large. The standard pabulum demanded by the public are fiction and trashy magazines. The percentage of high-class books carried in stock is small, except in a very few stores in the largest cities. Everywhere, the booksellers tell the same story, viz., "It doesn't pay to carry many of these; they sell so slowly." If there were a widespread love of reading, a real hunger for knowledge and intellectual refreshment, the book-stores would reflect the demand. There would be far more public and private libraries. In this respect Ontario undoubtedly leads the rest of Canada. Indeed, one of the most important educational forces in the country is its Public Library system; I know of no city in the world, in which the wisdom and knowledge of the ages are more intelligently disseminated among the masses, than in Toronto.

In the Maritime Provinces, private libraries, worthy the name, are very few in number; and, as regards public libraries, the people are poorly supplied, a recent statement of the American Library Association revealing that 82.5 of the population are without such service, a record which is only exceeded by Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories. The chief sources of supply of such literature as is read by the people are Great Britain and the United States (in Quebec, France). As regards the relative importance of these two nations it is to be said that the very small minority who read high-class books depend upon British authorship, whereas the great majority who read mostly light literature, in the shape of weekly and monthly magazines, are supplied from the United States. The lighter British magazines are not current in Canada, and the better ones are found only in libraries, clubs and a small percentage of homes. British newspapers are not read at all by the mass of our people, whereas American papers are distributed to a considerable extent throughout Canada. It is thus quite evident that the dominant literature influencing our citizens is American.

DRAMATIC ART

Dramatic art of native origin does not exist in Canada. The majority of the theatres provide chiefly vaudeville or trashy plays. Outside of Montreal, Toronto and one or two other cities very few first-class companies give performances. Public taste is everywhere satisfied by the movies. British attractions are rarely offered, the great majority being American in origin. The latest extension of wireless broadcasting and the rapid increase of radio-receiving instruments in Canadian homes implies a wider dissemination of American thought through lectures, speeches, sermons and concerts, as well as of the happenings of daily life from the Atlantic to the Pacific. When in addition to these influences, we add the daily intercourse, the ever-increasing financial and business relationships, is it any wonder that, while Canadian in name, our people (excepting the French of Quebec) tend more and more to become American in thought and habits.

MUSIC IN CANADA

Fletcher of Saltoun in the seventeenth century stated that if he could make the songs of a country, he did not care who made its laws. Certainly in old Scotland, the national and folk songs have played a great part in preserving the national spirit. For a long period music was one of the pleasures of home life among rich and poor, and it chiefly took the form of singing. This was the case throughout Canada as late as thirty or forty years ago, but in the English-speaking part of the country this form of home culture has largely disappeared, though it still retains a place in the French-Canadian homes of the province of Quebec.

In this connection I should like to pay tribute to the splendid work of Mr. Barbeau and others in collecting the enormous numbers of folk songs which have been the heritage of French Quebec, a collection as extensive as can now be found in use in any nation of Europe. The English population of Canada lags far behind in this respect. The great majority of our children are no longer educated to play and sing, music being provided in the form of "canned cacophany," as gramophone records have been termed by an American humorist. Coincident with this deterioration in the homes has been the change in our schools. Men and women beyond middle life can recall the relaxation and pleasure afforded by the singing of national and other melodies at certain periods during school hours. Such a practice was of value in impressing youthful minds with patriotic feelings, and, as well, in exercising a cultural influence. In many European countries, particularly the Scandinavian and Teutonic, great importance is given to musical instruction in the public schools, with the result that the patriotism of the people is strengthened and a love of music inculcated, which lasts throughout life.

Outside a very few of the larger cities good musical performances, either by individuals or orchestras, are rare. The Maritime Provinces are particularly barren in this respect. It is, however, gratifying to note that in a few quarters musical culture is not wanting. Indeed, the city in which we are now meeting holds a high place in musical instruction and taste. The magnificent (singing) choir which it has developed gives it an enviable position among the leading cities of the world.

PAINTING, SCULPTURE AND ARCHITECTURE

Canada cannot be said to have developed any marked originality in the field of architecture. Throughout the country generally it is of a very commonplace type, particularly noticeable throughout the Maritime Provinces. Quebec, however, holds a distinctive place for, as has been made evident by two large illustrated volumes issued by the Province, there are many old country houses and churches with architectural features of great charm and dignity. These belong mainly to the old regime. Modern structures for the most part are not above the level found elsewhere in Canada.

In painting and sculpture we cannot claim to have taken a prominent place. While we have produced a number of artists and sculptors of high merit, very few have achieved world wide recognition. The mass of our people have little appreciation for art. There is very little demand for paintings, etchings, engravings or sculpture. There are very few public collections of any importance, and a small percentage of private houses in which good works of art are to be found. The Maritime Provinces are particularly arid in this respect. As might be expected, the best collections are in Montreal and Toronto. The two leading Art Schools are in these cities and their influence is continually increasing. One of the

most notable collections is that of the Museum of Archaeology of Toronto, one of the world's great treasure houses of Oriental Art. Indeed, in certain features of ancient Chinese art, it holds a unique place. Too great praise cannot be given to those whose foresight and courage have provided Canada with one of the most remarkable Art collections in existence. The National Gallery of Ottawa is a creation of the Federal Government, due to the inspiration of a few private citizens. While it has a number of good pictures it does not yet rank very high. There is no great enthusiasm among our "practical" legislators to provide large sums of money in the purchase of important works of art, and, as private gifts have been few, it is to be feared that the importance of the Gallery will not be rapidly enhanced. The travelling exhibitions organized by the directorate have been useful and should be more frequently repeated, especially in the outlying portions of the Dominion, such as the Maritime Provinces.

HISTORICAL INSTRUCTION.

In my extensive journeys throughout Eastern Canada in recent years nothing has made a deeper impression on me than the lack of interest in the historic basis of our national development. In the Maritimes the ignorance of our people is appalling. I believe that this is mainly due to the lack of stimulating instruction in the common schools, though the colleges must also share the blame. Not only is there no purposeful effort to instil into the minds of the young a love of country, based upon its traditions and the facts of its historic development, but the ordinary routine history courses are given with such lack of enthusiasm that they are generally regarded by children as dreary drudgery, from which they would gladly escape. In the Province of Nova Scotia, where the educational authorities, some years ago, made history a non-compulsory subject, the children have responded by generally taking advantage of the freedom offered them.

As compared with our neighbour to the South we are low in the scale as regards historical knowledge and appreciation. In the United States the most potent influences in creating a national spirit are historical instruction in schools, the appeal to sentiment by memorial celebrations, and the nation-wide respect paid to all who have contributed to the establishment of the country's liberties, or assisted in promoting and safeguarding its interests. In Canada these means are generally neglected. The dominant ideals are related to material prosperity or sport. National holidays are merely rest or sport days and are not characterized by demonstrations calculated to foster patriotic feelings, nor are they utilized to focus the attention of the people on their historic past, to instil into them a lively appreciation of the growth of our Empire, or to stir them with pride in the great achievements of our ancestors in every sphere of human activity. Unless our youth are brought up to feel a passionate attachment to the land of their birth, to glory in the struggles and accomplishments of the past, there can be no hope of building up a strong nation. If our land be considered only from the material standpoint, it is only natural that young men and women should unhesitatingly migrate to a country where they believe the opportunities to be greater and the prizes richer.

As history is taught in the schools it is to most pupils a dreary mass of dates and disconnected facts. Only an occasional teacher makes an appeal to the imagination and imparts knowledge with such enthusiasm as to send a thrill through youthful minds. Our ordinary text-books are partly to blame for they are as a rule written by uninspired and unimaginative

writers. They are mostly boiled-down editions of larger works meant for adult readers. The great majority of common school children are to become ordinary citizens. For them an elaborate constitutional, economic or sociologic presentation is useless. Outline sketches of the main course of our history with special reference to the most prominent personages and events are sufficient for the great majority of boys and girls. As far as possible reproductions of good paintings and engravings should be used. These are now obtainable in England and France at very moderate cost. In these countries such accessories have been employed for years and have been of the greatest value in stimulating and impressing the minds of the young. Only a very small percentage of Canadian schools use wall-illustrations, for there is no source of supply in our country. There is a splendid opportunity to undertake pioneer work in providing these valuable teaching adjuncts for all the provinces. From the mass of material in the Public Archives and other collections all periods of Canadian history could be represented pictorially. Lantern slides could also be most effectively used.

For some years the educational branch of the Department of the Interior has been making slides to illustrate the manufacturing, agricultural and other economic developments of our country, as well as its scenic attractions. Short descriptions of the slides are printed and these are loaned to lecturers in all parts of Canada, free of cost. There is no reason why the same course should not be pursued in the teaching of history. If members of this Society will furnish outline lectures the slides will be made from material in the Public Archives, free of charge.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

To attempt a survey of the various systems of common school education in Canada in order to estimate their efficiency and value in the life of the country is a task which would require a long period of patient investigation, and, as generalizations not founded on accurate data would be quite valueless, I shall limit my remarks to that part of the country of which I have intimate knowledge. Last year, in an address to the National Council of Education in Montreal, I considered conditions in the Maritime Provinces, referring freely to the comprehensive survey made by the Carnegie Foundation in 1922, of which a full report has been published. This independent corporation, whose aim is to point out defects and to suggest methods of improvement, severely criticised the common school system in the three provinces, both the primary and secondary divisions being found (with few exceptions) generally unsatisfactory.

A similar investigation in the other provinces of the Dominion would be of the greatest value. Indeed, judging from many letters which I have received and from newspaper editorials, I have some suspicion that many of the faults which exist in the extreme East may also be found in other sections of the country.

In speaking of higher education I am on surer ground, because the data relating thereto are, comparatively speaking, readily ascertainable. At the time of Confederation, the colleges of Canada were mostly small and unpretentious, devoting their attention chiefly to the old-fashioned arts curriculum. Students were not numerous and were subject to careful supervision, the ablest being encouraged to enter the professions, with the result that many attained to positions of eminence both in Canada and the United States. For many years these institutions carried

on their work without much change. It was only after the great advances in all branches of scientific knowledge, emanating from the schools of Europe, were forced on the attention of educationalists, that any marked development took place. The demand for scientific instruction called for the increase of teaching staffs and the equipment of laboratories. Many of the colleges were unable to meet the new conditions though attempting or pretending to do so; yet they exhibited an unwarranted haste in advancing their status from that of the old simple modest college to the more grandiose dignity of university, thus announcing to the world that they were expanding in conformity with the requirements of the new era. Skeleton faculties were established, in which a few professors gave instruction in many subjects. Thus, I can recall my own college experience of studying botany, chemistry, geology and physics under a single teacher. For a time he lectured as well on a branch of theology, but, fortunately, this subject was not part of my curriculum. It is thus evident that instruction could not have been thorough or adequate. Practical and laboratory facilities were most meagre, because of the lack of funds. Teaching in most cases consisted in daily quizzing of students from a text-book in which a number of pages had been assigned for consideration on the previous day—just the lesson-method of the common schools. Canada did not stand alone in these respects. The great majority of Colleges in the United States were in the same position. The institutions of both countries were infinitely inferior to the universities of the old world.

The modern era of advancement in higher education in North America dates from the establishment of Johns Hopkins University in 1876. This institution, consecrated to the advancement of knowledge as well as to the highest standard of instruction, has been an inspiration and stimulus to all the universities of America, and has given an immense impetus both to scholarship and research in all fields of inquiry, and the supreme influence which brought about these remarkable developments was undoubtedly of German origin. Canada was slow in responding to the new *zeit-geist* but in course of time changes began to take place, though very unequally in different sections. The most marked transformations have been found in Toronto and Montreal, where comparatively small institutions have grown into huge universities worthy of inclusion among the leading schools of learning in the world.

In the Maritime Provinces, with less than a million people possessing five universities and six colleges of lower grade, some with university powers, described by the Carnegie Foundation as being generally weak, poorly equipped and insufficiently endowed, the strongest efforts have been made to bring about confederation and consolidation of resources, following the example set in Toronto, whose noble university is the outcome of such an act of wisdom. As yet, however, no such beneficent result has been attained, mainly owing to sectional and denominational prejudices and self-satisfied contentment with the very imperfect existing conditions. Dalhousie, the only institution in the provinces which the Foundation consider worthy of the name of university, has been foremost in her endeavour to bring about amalgamation, and has been warmly seconded by King's, but the remaining institutions have remained aloof.

One of the chief indictments to be brought against the colleges and universities of Canada is that they have failed to make provision for post-graduate instruction and for the advancement of knowledge by means of research. It is only within very recent years that we have in a very limited measure followed the American example of encouraging

graduates of ability to prosecute further studies for higher degrees, not that the advanced diplomas are themselves of value, but that the higher standard of scholarship required to obtain them benefits the recipients and better qualifies them for carrying on their life work.

Many a youth in his college career develops aspirations for more advanced knowledge. Where no facilities exist for satisfying his ambition after graduation, his yearnings are likely to be quenched, but if he be very determined he will require to go far afield, even into other countries to carry out his purpose. Graduate schools offer the opportunity to continue studies, which otherwise might be dropped forever. Such work can only be carried on extensively by large universities with abundant resources and a large teaching staff. On this account we must expect but a slow development in Canada, where the facilities existing in most of our universities are so limited. At present a large percentage of Canadians who desire to pursue post-graduate studies go to the United States, where many find permanent positions. Thus, there is a steady drain of intellectual workers away from Canada, many of whom are of exceptional ability. This is a far more serious loss to the country than the exodus of day labourers.

In speaking of the highest functions of a university Huxley has stated:—

"In an Ideal university, a man should be able to obtain instruction in all forms of knowledge, and discipline in the use of all methods by which knowledge is obtained. In such a University, the force of living example should fire the student with a noble ambition to emulate the learning of learned men, and to follow in the footsteps of the explorers of new fields of knowledge."

Again:—

"The future of the world lies in the hands of those who are able to carry the interpretation of nature a step further than their predecessors. . . . *The highest function of a University is to seek out these men, cherish them, and give their ability to serve their kind full play.*"

This standard has been recognized for generations in the principal countries of the old world, but it has been chiefly in Germany that the spirit of Research has dominated and been the chief glory of her Universities. Huxley's remarkable tribute, written many years ago, is just as true today:—

"The German universities have become the most intensely cultivated and the most productive intellectual corporations the world has ever seen."

Is it any wonder that during many years young men, burning with a desire to advance knowledge, should have striven to work under the inspiration and guidance of German masters? Where could a Canadian find such opportunity, such stimulus or such encouragement at home?

In the great majority of Canadian universities, research has found no place. The professoriate have been chosen for the instruction of raw boys and girls whose chief aim has been to pass examinations and obtain degrees. Even if teachers might have the desire and the ability to carry on investigations, they have been hampered by the system which ties them down to class-room instruction. Yet, in recent years some notable original work has been carried on by individuals, and the indication is that our leading institutions will in future give that attention to research which has been so lacking in the past. To bring this about, professors must be secured, who possess the necessary qualifications, and who are freed from the obligation of conducting continuous routine instruction; moreover they must be supplied with resources sufficient for the carrying on of their work.

Finally, in endeavouring to explain the relative backwardness of Canada in the various forms of cultural expression which I have been considering, I would assign two conditions as chiefly responsible. Though Canada has a history of three hundred years, its problems of material development have been so great as to engross the attention of the entire population. In the French regime, life was not only difficult but very uncertain. There was a succession of wars with the English and the Iroquois, and the inhabitants lived in constant dread of raids by the savages.

Until the opening of the West, farms had to be made out of forest land. When, for example, some seventy thousand Loyalists settled in Canada, bringing with them only the clothes which they wore, they were faced with the necessity of hard and unremitting labour for many years in order merely to live. Under these conditions it is not surprising that they had little time to indulge in the refinements of civilization. Later, as the country grew, the problems of developing commerce and of improving transportation facilities by land and water engrossed the active minds of the people. Wealth, but slowly accumulated and throughout most of our history there has been no leisured class to represent the cultural side of life. It is only since Confederation that we have in a small degree gradually approached to the conditions existing in the European countries, and it is within this very period that our present attainments have been consummated.

The second influence which has greatly retarded our intellectual growth is the long period of Colonial tutelage, from which we are just now emerging. What chance was there for any independent expression of Canadian thought, in any form, during the French period, when the will of the King in Paris was the factor which decided the character of Canadian life in every detail? There was no opportunity for art and literature to flourish under the zealous supervision of Royal officials at Quebec, and the church exercised a potent supervision over the rudimentary educational system which existed.

Under British domination, the Canadian provinces accepted the role which destiny had conferred upon them, of being distant appendages of the Mother Country, whose interest was not in developing and strengthening them, but in keeping them as a market for her manufactured goods and as a strategic foothold on the North American Continent.

The Colonial Office sent out governors and exercised much influence in provincial affairs. The various fights for responsible government were not inspired by dislike of British domination but by the hatred of the tyranny and injustice so often practised by governing councils in the provinces. Apart from these incidents the people meekly accepted their lot. Their laws were supervised in England. The goods which they consumed were made there. Their literature came from overseas and their protection came from the British Army and Navy. It was only after Confederation that a new spirit began to animate our people. Faint at first, it has continued to grow in strength until at last it has brought to an end our colonial status.

We are now a free self-governing state with the consciousness and pride of nationhood in our hearts and minds. Our destiny is henceforth in our own control for weal or woe. Our great achievements in the last sixty years have been mainly in the material sphere. Let us now cherish the ambition to achieve an equally notable record in the development of science, literature, education and the fine arts, so that when the Centenary of Confederation is celebrated we shall take high rank among the leading nations of the earth.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMPERIAL RELATIONS

By PROFESSOR W. T. WAUGH

In what I am about to say I do not propose to restrict myself to the Canadian point of view. Were I to do so, I should inevitably trespass on ground already covered by previous speakers. Furthermore, it would be idle, if not impudent, for a comparatively recent immigrant to discourse on Canada's relations with Great Britain to an audience containing friends and kinsmen of some of the great figures in the last half-century of Canadian politics. However discreetly and acutely I might use my authorities, there must remain many topics—as, for instance, the Alaska boundary dispute—on which some of you possess knowledge which I could not attain. No less decisive is the consideration that Canada's present status in the British Commonwealth has been partly determined by events that have happened and precedents that have been established in other Dominions. I shall therefore include in my survey, which must perforce be very superficial, all the self-governing parts of the so-called British Empire.

When the Dominion of Canada was established, responsible government was of course no new thing to its component provinces, and it was also enjoyed by New Zealand, Tasmania, and four colonies of the Australian mainland. The British conception of the rights of such colonies was a generous one. Nearly thirty years before, Lord Durham had said that the only points on which the mother country required a control were the constitution of the form of government—the regulation of foreign relations, and of trade with the mother country, the other British colonies, and foreign nations—and the disposal of the public lands. Otherwise the colonies with self-government should possess the “final, unfettered, and complete” direction of their domestic affairs. Not only had this opinion been generally accepted by British statesmen, but Durham's reservations had been in great part abandoned. The claim of the self-governing colonies to regulate their external trade had been granted, subject to the prohibition of differential duties. Control of public land had been conceded almost immediately. The Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 had placed beyond doubt the power of several colonies to amend their own constitutions. It is vital to remember such facts when comparing the colonies of sixty years ago with the Dominions of to-day.

It need hardly be said that this liberal policy towards the colonies was not the expression of an affectionate trust in the loyalty and sagacity of their inhabitants. Though the Golden Age of the Manchester School was passing away, it was still generally believed in England that the secession of the colonies was inevitable, if not desirable. Disraeli was unjust when in 1872 he accused the Liberal party of having made a continuous and subtle effort to disintegrate the Empire. There had been no effort; and if disintegration had been passively and indeed hopefully awaited, the attitude had been assumed by Conservatives as well as Liberals; twenty years earlier Disraeli himself had called “these wretched colonies” a “millstone round our necks.” It is noteworthy that Walter Bagehot, when in the very year of Canadian Confederation he was struggling to justify the existence of the British monarchy, never said a word

about the colonies. Perhaps the prevalent feeling is best expressed in a celebrated letter written as late as 1885 by Lord Blachford, who as Sir Frederick Rogers had been Permanent Under-secretary of State for the Colonies from 1860 to 1871. "I had always," he wrote, "believed—and the belief has so confirmed and consolidated itself that I can hardly realize the possibility of anyone seriously thinking the contrary—that the destiny of our colonies is independence; and that in this point of view the function of the Colonial Office is to secure that our connection, while it lasts, shall be as profitable to both parties, and our separation, when it comes, as amicable as possible."

In face of such an attitude, no one could look for effusive loyalty from the colonies. If separatist sentiment was less outspoken in Canada than it had been twenty years before, there was grave disaffection in Australia, where in 1870 it was urged by responsible politicians that Victoria should declare her neutrality in the event of Great Britain going to war; while in New Zealand, where the colonists had suffered some provocation from the Home Government, there was talk of seeking annexation by the United States. Indeed, it has been said that relations between England and her colonies have seldom been more strained than in 1869-70, when Lord Granville, a man singularly unsuited to the post, was Colonial Secretary.

In discussing the subsequent development of imperial relations, one has constantly to be on guard against two opposite temptations. There is on the one hand the risk of over-emphasizing the significance of constitutional law and accepted procedure. That the Imperial Parliament has sovereign authority over every part of the territories of the Crown is as true now as it was in 1867. It is also true that established rules, based in part on statute, which control the employment of the Great Seal, give British ministers the power to frustrate many executive acts of Dominion governments. Such facts must not be forgotten; but if we concentrate our attention upon them, as some of my legal colleagues are wont to do, we shall not learn much about the British Empire. On the other hand, there are people who treat as authoritative flights of rhetoric about "the partner nations of the British Commonwealth," or "sister states equals of the United Kingdom in everything except population and wealth," or "freedom and independence the essence of the imperial connection"—all phrases used by great British statesmen, but in strictness unwarrantable as long as the Empire continues to exist on its present legal basis. And yet it would be wrong to ignore such utterances, for they have had their effect on the relations between Great Britain and the Dominions, and they serve to correct the false notions induced by an over-devout study of law and procedure. But it is indeed hard, when dealing with such a political phenomenon as this Empire, Commonwealth, or whatever it should be called, to ascribe just weight to statute, convention, custom, precedent, opinion and aspiration; and I have no doubt that I have miscalculated the value of many factors in forming the crude generalizations which limitations of time compel me to make.

The history of imperial relations in the last sixty years may be divided into three parts of nearly equal length. The first ends about 1886, the second twenty years later. In the first the doctrine of *laissez faire*, though rapidly losing influence, was still predominant among the politicians who had the shaping of British colonial policy. After 1886 came twenty years of imperialist enthusiasm, felt in all parts of the Empire, and reaching its climax in 1897, the year of Queen Victoria's

Diamond Jubilee, which conveniently occurred precisely half-way between Canadian Confederation and the present year. After 1906 there was a strong reaction of temper, which has led to results which would have caused consternation if they had been foreseen in 1897, but would on the whole have pleased the politicians of sixty years ago.

From 1867 to the middle of the ninth decade of the century there was no great change in imperial relations. No British government thought of withdrawing any of the rights which had been bestowed on the colonies. The Cape of Good Hope, in fact, obtained responsible government in 1872: a few years later Sir John Macdonald's National Policy led to the abandonment of the old prohibition of differential duties: and the home government gave up the practice of making commercial treaties that were binding on the whole Empire. Nevertheless, the subordination of the self-governing colonies to the United Kingdom was neither denied nor concealed. Acts passed by colonial legislatures were now and then disallowed, sometimes as *ultra vires*, sometimes as detrimental to imperial interests, sometimes as contrary to the spirit of British policy. The Imperial Parliament occasionally legislated for self-governing colonies. Governors were allowed considerable discretion with respect to the dissolution of colonial parliaments and the exercise of the prerogative of mercy. Such interferences were, however, exceptional. They cannot be ascribed to any new concern for the welfare of the colonies or the promotion of imperial unity. For the greater part of this period the Liberals held office in the United Kingdom and displayed in their handling of colonial affairs an ineptitude which was largely due to indifference. At the same time, a widespread change in public opinion was becoming evident. In 1868 Sir Charles Dilke's *Greater Britain* was published, and the interest which it aroused was revived and increased in 1883 by Seeley's famous lectures on the Expansion of England. The assumption by the Queen of the title of Empress of India drew popular attention to the overseas territories of the Crown. The Conservatives in England, inspired by Disraeli, began to think and talk about the Empire, the more so when after the first Boer War it gave them a good stick wherewith to belabour Gladstone. In Canada Sir John Macdonald was for most of the time in power; by the building of the Intercolonial and Canadian Pacific railways people's eyes were turned east and west, and less than heretofore towards the south, and the desire for British immigrants was for a while increased. There is varied testimony that feeling in Australia was becoming much more friendly to the mother country, and when in the 'eighties' the Australasian colonies awoke to the possibility of being attacked by a power with ambitions in the Pacific, their loyalty to the Imperial connection was much stimulated. That Australia was not peopled exclusively by convicts, gold-diggers, and bushrangers was brought home to the British public when in 1882 an Australian eleven first beat England in a cricket match—and I am quite serious when I treat that as an historic event. The changing temper of the time was symbolized by the presence in the Khartoum relief force of contingents—no matter how small—from Canada and New South Wales.

The advent to power of the Conservatives in 1886 marked the ascendancy of the new spirit, which was in part responsible for the rejection of Irish Home Rule by the British electorate. The next dozen years were a time of immense fervour and rapid expansion. Everything encouraged a policy of active imperialism. The two Jubilees of the Queen would in themselves have evoked popular enthusiasm about the vastness

and wealth of the lands over which she ruled. The feeling of mortification left by the disasters of Majuba and Khartoum dictated a vigorous policy in both South and North Africa; while the achievements of explorers had rendered inevitable the unedifying scramble for the tropical regions of that continent which had begun when Gladstone was in power but was completed in the early years of Salisbury's administration. The influence of writers like Seeley and Froude spread the interest in Greater Britain among the educated, and was powerfully reinforced through the rise to fame of Rudyard Kipling, whose tales and verses gave to a vast public an admiration for the extent, variety, and resources of the Empire, a sense of the price that had been paid for its acquisition, a comforting faith that its maintenance and expansion were philanthropic duties, and a grasp of the constitutional principle that a girl might be daughter in her mother's house and mistress in her own. Sport served the good cause. Canadians played lacrosse in England, and many Englishmen took up the game, which is now played there more than here. Australians and South Africans went there to play cricket, and English teams returned their visits. And, though Salisbury seldom departed from his usual reserve, his colleagues, led by Joseph Chamberlain, rivalled one another in compliments to the colonies; and even Gladstone, during his last ministry, had as Foreign Secretary an imperialist, who succeeded him as prime minister.

Feeling in the self-governing colonies, as so often happens, lagged somewhat behind. Up to 1891 Canada was much concerned about reciprocity with the United States; and whatever one may think of the political risks involved in the various proposals that found favour, it cannot be plausibly contended that they would have strengthened the bonds of Empire. Yet the virtual end of this episode was Macdonald's last address to the Canadian people, too familiar to need quotation; the Imperial Federation League was becoming active; a few years later it was Laurier, Liberal as he was, who granted a preference to imports from Britain; while, inspired by the Diamond Jubilee, Canada issued a postage stamp which as a display of flamboyant imperialism can hardly be paralleled. Meanwhile, Australia and New Zealand had begun to make annual contributions towards the maintenance of the British navy. In 1898 the Cape of Good Hope followed their example. This was particularly remarkable, since relations between the United Kingdom and the Boer Republics were already critical, and a large element in Cape Colony sympathized with their Dutch kinsmen. It was however natural that the British in South Africa should become fervently and indiscreetly attached to the Empire.

Notwithstanding the tumult and the shouting, notwithstanding some practical evidence of devotion to the Empire, these twenty years had little positive effect on the constitutional relations of the self-governing territories of the Crown. There was no reaction towards greater control of the colonies by the Home authorities. West Australia and Natal attained responsible government. The connotation of "autonomy" was enlarged. Thus, the right of the self-governing colonies to legislate freely respecting immigration was established, though in some cases the consequences were most detrimental to the harmony of the Empire and flatly contrary to principles of English common law. The formation of the Commonwealth of Australia did not involve the acceptance of any new constitutional principle; but it is noteworthy that the Australians were given power to amend the federal constitution and that appeals from the High

Court of the Commonwealth to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council were not to be allowed in disputes as to the interpretation of that Constitution. In general, however, the mood of the time favoured movements towards greater political unity. Early in the last decade of the century, Sir Charles Tupper advocated the general adoption of Imperial Preference as a means to this end, and received encouragement from several Australian colonies and the Cape of Good Hope. He also advocated the continual presence in London of a Canadian minister, who should be in constant touch with the British Cabinet; and it is well known that when he was High Commissioner relations between the British and Canadian authorities were closer and more harmonious than ever before or since. It was of course in this period that Colonial Conferences were first held; but during the years under consideration they were not of great consequence, being, as it were, by-products of much bigger occasions—the two Jubilees of the Queen and the coronation of Edward VII. They were not even allowed to discuss imperial federation, though the subject was being debated all over the Empire and several important organizations were working in favour of it. Far more momentous than the talk round the conference table was the help rendered by the colonies to the mother country in the Boer War. Their contingents were of real military value, and, as I well remember, made a great impression on popular imagination in England. Now here, it seemed to Joseph Chamberlain, was the very occasion for welding new bonds of Empire. It is not unlikely that he had in mind the use made by Bismarck of the common enthusiasm engendered in north and south Germany by the war of 1870; for he was always interested in the German Empire and attracted by it. At all events, scarcely was the South African war over when he began his “raging, tearing propaganda” for the adoption of a policy of Imperial Preference by the United Kingdom, his avowed motive being a desire to promote imperial federation as well as British and colonial trade. The sequel we all know and most of us remember. Chamberlain caught the wave of imperialism on the ebb. Kipling and Seeley were giving place to Bernard Shaw and Sidney Webb. The streets where the sun never shone aroused more feeling than the Empire where it never set. The imperial purpose of Chamberlain’s policy excited small interest among the general public. The crucial question was, Would the British workman have to pay more for his food? The British workman was convinced that he would, and at the election of 1906 that belief turned the conservative defeat, probably inevitable for other reasons, into an unprecedented débâcle. That election decided that the period of imperialistic enthusiasm would be constitutionally barren. It destroyed the possibility of imperial federation. And let it be noted that the blow was struck, not by the colonies, jointly or severally, but by the British people.

Since 1906 the political bonds uniting the misnamed Empire have become looser and weaker. In practice, though not (it is true) in law, the autonomy of the self-governing colonies has been greatly extended. They are indeed no longer “colonies” at all, but “Dominions.” In 1916 it could be said that they had been granted and would be granted every power of self-government which they finally insisted upon having. The logical consequences of such a situation have been strikingly illustrated since. In fact, the recognition accorded to the Dominions in the peace treaties and the Covenant of the League of Nations, their attitude in relation to the treaties of Lausanne and Locarno, and the acknowledgment of their right to appoint ministers in foreign capitals, gave Dominion

autonomy a meaning which its most ardent advocates had rarely claimed for it. And, as though eager to out-distance events, the Imperial Conference of last year unanimously described Great Britain and the Dominions as "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs," with the additional assurance that "every self-governing member of the Empire is now master of its own destiny. In fact, if not always in form, it is subject to no compulsion whatever."

The loosening of the links that have hitherto bound Great Britain to her colonies did not, until lately, attract much popular attention. For some time after 1906, indeed, the imperialism which was discredited in England and Canada remained vocal in Australia and New Zealand, and from the proceedings at the Imperial Conferences of 1907 and 1911 it might have been supposed that constitutional changes making for closer union of the Empire were more feasible than ever. But the various proposals of those years—for the establishment of an Imperial High Court, an Imperial Council, and even a federal parliament and cabinet—bore practically no fruit; and in one or two cases the representatives of the United Kingdom had a leading share in their defeat. The most notable results of the efforts of this time towards a closer unity were the creation of the Australian navy and the increase in the contributions of New Zealand and South Africa to naval defence. But the discussions of this question, both at Imperial Conferences and elsewhere, betrayed the difficulties that beset co-operation in the preparations for and conduct of war. They also caused a certain unpleasantness between Great Britain and Canada, whose refusal to follow the lead of other Dominions was ascribed in many quarters to anti-British prejudice.

Then came the war. The conduct of the Dominions at the outset occasioned general surprise—very agreeable to Britain and her allies, extremely disconcerting to their enemies. But it is significant that surprise was felt at all. There followed the splendid exploits of the Dominion forces, and the co-operation of Dominion statesmen in the conduct of the war through the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference. It is questionable, however, whether the war was in any sense favourable to imperial unity. When it was over, most Dominion governments seemed eager to scrap the existing machinery for co-operation; furthermore, while a short triumphant war, such as the Germans fought in 1870, tends to promote good-feeling among the victors, a long, critical struggle, when nerves become intolerably strained, leads to mutual dislike and recrimination between comrades. It is notorious that there was very bad feeling between Australians and British South Africans for many years after the Boer War; and, much as the English admired the military achievements of the Dominion troops in the greater conflict, the soldiers of at least one of the Dominions were much disliked in England. Still, the Dominions rendered immense service to the common cause, and after the war well-advertised Imperial Conferences gave the public the impression that the Empire was holding together well. But in the last two or three years facts, I think, have begun to tell. Last year's report on imperial relations caused widespread interest and no little astonishment. Much nonsense was talked about it; but there is no doubt that if legislation and procedure give effect to the sweeping assertions of the report, the present constitution of the Empire will be destroyed. And, if nothing is done, and the report be treated as mere verbiage, the consequences may be still more sensational. But I am being enticed into current controversy.

Outside Canada it is fashionable to deride the politicians of sixty years ago and in particular to scoff at the conviction of such men as Lord Blachford that "the destiny of our colonies is independence." But was not Lord Blachford substantially right? "States which have voluntarily accepted one crown and one flag, and which in all else are absolutely independent of one another"—thus were the autonomous colonies described, not by Lord Blachford, but by Joseph Chamberlain. If Blachford were alive now, he would probably say, "The independence which I predicted has been attained; the imperial authorities have done their work well; they secured that the connection, while it lasted, was profitable to both parties; while the separation which is coming to pass is more amicable than I would have conceived possible." What would perplex Lord Blachford is the fact that separation is compatible with allegiance to the Crown. When Lord Blachford was at the Colonial Office there was much republican sentiment in England. Even those who believed in the monarchy, like Bagehot, had obvious misgivings about its survival. Joseph Chamberlain himself began his political career as a republican. Dilke somehow remained one for some time after he became an imperialist. Had mid-Victorian statesmen foreseen the rehabilitation of the monarchy in popular esteem, they would doubtless have admitted the possibility and desirability of what we know as the British Commonwealth of Nations. For, notwithstanding Imperial Conferences and the formulation of innumerable schemes of imperial co-operation, the actual development of imperial relations in the past twenty years might have occurred in an Empire still dominated by the doctrine of *laissez faire*.

The real nature of what has happened is obscured by the use of that unhappy word Empire. It suggests a number of states or provinces held together by force, and probably anxious to break away. What we now call the British Commonwealth never was an Empire of that kind. Indeed, the British people have always shown themselves singularly incapable of ruling such an Empire, and they have rarely betrayed any wish to govern white men who dwell beyond the limits of the British Isles. The imperialism of thirty years ago never sat comfortably upon them and was quickly discarded. Time forbids me to enlarge on this theme, much as I should like to do so. I must be content with recording my belief that the present British Commonwealth, or as I prefer to call it, the British Society of Nations, owes its existence and character, partly no doubt to the national aspirations of the Dominions, but equally to a policy pursued by great Britain, with but few interruptions, since the American Revolution. It is a typical product of English temper and habits. Its future is no concern of mine to-day. It is sufficient to say that the development of imperial relations in the past sixty years has brought into being a political society, unique in history, the preservation of which, in my opinion, is vital to the welfare of mankind.

BRITISH FINANCE AND CONFEDERATION

By PROFESSOR R. G. TROTTER

Even an historian may rightfully approach an occasion such as to-day's with patriotic fervor, provided, of course, that the fervor be of the right sort. Clio has no more dire foe than the wrong sort, the blatant patriotism that would prostitute her to the service of a prejudiced tradition; and she has ever to be on guard, alike against the seductions and against the violence of that enemy, if she would preserve her honor. Fortunately in Canada that foe shows its head less frequently than in some parts of the world. Neither our history nor our political institutions have yet gathered about them, and let it be hoped they never will, such haloes of sanctified popular dogma as to preclude their observation with a candid eye and their study with an open mind. Certainly in this Canadian Historical Association and in this audience one may be confident of finding healthily absent the obscurantist instincts of the historical fundamentalist. Our patriotism is of that more commendable sort which, far from perverting our sense of truth, rather increases our zeal to know as much as can be known about our country's past, to see that past in a mirror that neither dims nor distorts the image.

The student of Canadian history is blessed with another good fortune besides that mentioned a moment ago. In his search for the evidence upon which to reconstruct and interpret the past he is immensely aided and stimulated by the rapidity with which fresh historical sources of great importance are to-day being made accessible to him, particularly at the national Archives at Ottawa. One of the most recent accessions to that collection comprises the papers of the London banking houses of the Barings and Glyn, Mills and Company, donated by those firms through the good offices of Dr. Adam Shortt. These papers are of unique importance for the study of the period when Confederation was taking shape. Both firms were financial agents of the Canadian Government. Both held high place at the centre of the financial world. They had interests and activities connecting them closely with affairs in many parts of the globe, and by no means least with matters closely concerning British North America. Many of the ramifications of their knowledge and influence are revealed in their papers.¹ As these are still in process of sorting I cannot claim to have read all items in them that might illuminate the story of the federation movement, but a reading of a large number which there was opportunity to examine proved well worth while. In the first place it provided information which filled some gaps in the already known materials, here replacing surmise by certainty, there explaining the hitherto misunderstood, sometimes adding new incidents to the tale. In the second place, and perhaps of greater consequence, the general effect was to impress upon one the pervasive importance of the part played by British financial interests in the series of developments

¹The Glyn Mills Papers mostly deal with routine business and with the technical side of financial transactions, as that firm was senior to the Barings in its relations with the Canadian Government and the formal business therefore passed through its hands. The Baring Papers, by contrast, so far as they include correspondence with Canadian leaders, are largely unofficial, often involving the confidential transmission of points of view and explanation of conditions lying behind and determining the formal financial demands and transactions.

that led to the establishment of the Dominion. It became obvious that this phase of the federation story deserved a more pointed consideration than it had yet received. The purpose, therefore, of this brief paper, is to follow through some of the relations of British finance to the events which brought federation, and to indicate in a measure the significance of the role played by this factor.

I need hardly remind you that early proposals for a political union of the scattered and diverse fragments of British North America received at the hands of the British Government but scant attention; they were greeted at the best with scarcely more than a polite indifference. Until the middle of the nineteenth century such an attitude is wholly explicable if one stops to consider the political and economic backwardness and the social and geographical isolation of the several provincial communities. Even by the end of the fifties the difficulties in the way still seemed unlikely to be surmounted for a long time to come; at least so thought most men on both sides of the Atlantic. As late as 1858 Galt's unusually well-thought-out proposals for a federal union received a markedly cold reception at the hands of one Colonial Secretary, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, and when, after a change of government in Britain, they were renewed early in 1860, they were looked upon with hardly more cordiality by a second, the Duke of Newcastle.² It is a strikingly significant fact that the situation soon changed radically. When, after two years more, the question was next broached to Downing Street, in a despatch from the Government of Nova Scotia, the same Newcastle expressed a decided interest in the idea and authorized the provinces to confer on the subject, assuring them that whenever they might wish to present to the British Government definite proposals in regard to union he felt confident that they would be dealt with in a favourable spirit.³ Sudden as this change of attitude appears, explanations for it are not far to seek. In the intervening period Newcastle had enjoyed a highly educative trip to North America on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' celebrated visit, and therefore appreciated better than before the possibilities of development in the provinces as well as the complexity of their problems. The American Civil War, also, had produced a tense international situation fraught with possible peril to the provinces and necessitating unusual measures for their defence. But these facts, significant though they be, constitute only part of the situation. Among other aspects, one of great importance, bearing directly upon the subject of this paper, requires special consideration.

This aspect is financial, and has to do with the railway situation. It is not necessary at this time to go into the earlier railway history of the provinces; enough to notice that the hopes of over-sanguine promoters had been sadly disappointed. This was particularly true in regard to the Grand Trunk, which by 1860 faced virtual bankruptcy. Its system stretched from Sarnia to Portland, Maine, and down the lower St. Lawrence to Rivière du Loup, at that time the largest under one management in the world. Extravagantly built and wastefully mismanaged, it also lacked as yet the necessary traffic to enable it to meet its obligations. The Barings and their associates had been heavily interested in the road from its beginning and were now vitally concerned over its financial condi-

² R. G. Trotter, *Canadian Federation: Its Origins and Achievement* (Toronto, 1924), pp. 30f.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 40f.

tion.⁴ The urgent necessity of drastic measures was obvious. Investigation made clear the incompetence of the existing management. That was shortly remedied by the appointment of a new general manager, C. J. Brydges, a man who deserves more attention at the hands of our historians than he has received—he was one of the unofficial fathers of Confederation. In order to set the Grand Trunk on its feet further financial aid from the Canadian Government was sought, but to no avail; it was soon found that public generosity had been exhausted by the previous heavy drafts upon the provincial treasury. There remained then only the possibility of increasing traffic in some large way. The most practicable method appeared to be to secure the construction of extensions. A railway to the Pacific was looked to by some for an eventual increase of traffic, both from the settlements which it would build up in the west and as a highway for trade with the Orient; but of more immediate concern and easier of execution was an intercolonial railway that would connect the Grand Trunk system in the St. Lawrence basin with the settled regions and ice-free ports of the Maritime Provinces, and would, it was expected, provide the avenue for a large increase in interprovincial travel and trade. The condition of the Grand Trunk made it utterly futile to think of building such a railway with unaided private capital. It must of necessity be built largely with public funds whether as a company or government road. Such being the case, it was desirable to bring about a renewal of negotiations to that end among the provincial governments. The latter, should they undertake the task, would have to float loans in the London market. An Imperial guarantee of loans of this sort was considered essential, both by the provinces because it saved them from paying an inordinate rate of interest, and by London investors because it safe-guarded the investment against the uncertainties of provincial finance. Obviously, then, to secure a satisfactory basis of agreement for the building of an intercolonial railway was no simple task. There must be not only interprovincial conferences in the colonies, but delegations to London as well, and the latter, besides reaching agreement with the Colonial Office, if not for direct aid at least for a guarantee, must also come to terms with the banking houses from which or through which the money would be borrowed.

The man whom the Grand Trunk shareholders, under the presidency of Thomas Baring, picked to promote this campaign was Edward W. Watkin.⁵ He was remarkably well qualified for his task. Managerial experience in connection with English railways had given him the requisite understanding of the technical and financial aspects of railroading and, what was no less important, he had the born promoter's expansive view of opportunities for constructive enterprise, coupled with an enthusiastic and genial personality that gave him close and influential touch with many men. Before sailing on his mission in 1860 he held intimate converse about the matters involved, not only with the Barings but also with the Colonial Secretary, and it was with the blessing of both that he entered upon his labours. Once arrived in the provinces he soon made the acquaintance of their political leaders and revived the dormant interest in an intercolonial railway. A delegation from Nova Scotia and New

⁴ In 1860 the Barings became more than ever interested in the Grand Trunk's affairs because, the railway being unable to meet its financial obligations, the rolling stock came into their hands.—S. J. McLean, "National Highways Overland," *Canada and Its Provinces*, ed. by A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty, (Toronto, 1914), X, 416.

⁵ Sir E. W. Watkin, *Canada and the States: Recollections 1851-1886* (London, [1887]), pp. 11ff. See also Trotter, *op. cit.*, pp. 178ff.

Brunswick toured Canada—Howe called it “one of the most delightful excursions” of his life⁶—and at Quebec, in conference with the Canadian Government, they resolved to renew railway negotiations with London. Watkin hastened back to England to pave the way for the provincial delegates, and in his preparatory discussions with Newcastle, according to an account of them which Watkin gave at a later time, it was agreed not only that the railway project should be backed, but also that it was desirable to make a start as soon as possible at securing communications across the West, and, in addition, that the proposal to unite the colonies should be pushed. When the delegates arrived Watkin introduced them to the duke, helped to stage-manage the negotiations, and saw to it that the delegates and their wives were made socially welcome.⁷

The visit of the delegates is marked by one development particularly worthy of note in connection with the topic of this paper. A British North American Association was instituted, comprising a large number of the financial leaders in the City, most of those, in fact, with interests in British North America. Howe, a prime mover in its creation, urged upon Thomas Baring that however admirable might be the means already being taken to recover the money sunk in the Grand Trunk, the road's final salvation must in the very nature of things depend upon the general progress of the country, which in its turn required a large growth of population. He pointed out that an organization of interested persons in London could do much in gathering and disseminating information about the colonies that would attract immigration, and it would also serve as a valuable rallying point for provincial interests in dealings with the British Government and public.⁸ After consulting with his colleagues and with Watkin, Howe drew up a prospectus. The organization was soon effected, and a committee appointed through which a memorial was addressed to the Lords of the Treasury urging the importance of the Intercolonial Railway.⁹

Despite all the pressure, however, that was brought to bear upon it the British Government finally proved unwilling to meet the demands which had been formulated by the provincial delegates before their return home, as those involved dipping into the British Treasury for half of the yearly interest on the necessary loan until it could be met by income from the railway's operation. But, while rejecting this method, the Government did not wish to end the matter and therefore informed the provinces that, if they would pay the interest charges, it was quite willing, as at an earlier time, to give its guarantee and thus make possible a low interest rate.¹⁰ The way was open for renewed discussion, but although Watkin was in the provinces three times during that year, 1862, a change of governments in Canada in May prevented any headway being made till his autumn visit.¹¹

It will be recalled that the resignation of the Cartier-Macdonald Government followed the defeat of its Militia Bill providing special defensive measures for the province. The incident deserves attention here for

⁶ Howe's diary of 1861, written on shipboard in 1862, *Howe Papers*, Canadian Archives, Cf. Watkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 21f.

⁷ Watkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 80ff.

⁸ Howe to Thomas Baring, 31 Dec. 1861, *Baring Papers*. See also Trotter, *op. cit.*, pp. 184, 192f.

⁹ 25 Feb. 1862, *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1862, No. 209, pp. 5ff. The same paper contains a number of similar memorials from other parts of the United Kingdom.

¹⁰ Newcastle to Monck, No. 93, 12 Apr. 1862, Canadian Archives, G167. Printed in Br. Parl. Pap., 1862, No. 210, p. 22.

¹¹ Watkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 94ff.

a moment. Upon receipt of the news, many persons in Britain, hardly if at all appreciating the degree to which that measure and its defeat were alike matters of party tactics, raised a chorus of caustic and hostile criticism in Parliament and in the press. It was a time when nerves were on edge over the whole Civil War situation, and men joined in the attack who upon other occasions displayed a much better understanding of the British North American point of view. When it is remembered that at that period many in the Old Country expected the colonies before long to reach maturity and drop from the parent stem, hoping at best that the parting could be conducted in friendly fashion, it is not surprising that in the pique of the moment wishes were openly voiced that they might be got rid of before becoming a source of trouble with the States. Understandable as it may be, the temper of the comment was not calculated to improve relations with the provinces or to persuade the latter to a more active defense policy. It is rather significant that among the few who rallied to the defense of Canada in the House of Commons was Thomas Baring. He expressed confidence in Canada's loyalty and avowed a strong belief in the mutual advantages of retaining the colonies. He deplored the fact that lately so much reason had been given the provincials for the unfortunate conclusion, which many of them were reaching, that they were no longer welcome in the Empire. While he voiced his conviction that it was quite unworthy to base one's attitude towards his fellow-subjects upon a mere matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, at the same time it is true that his personal knowledge, upon which his special understanding of the situation depended, was the result of his regular communications with Canada made necessary by his own business connections.¹²

It was shortly before this debate took place that Newcastle sent his despatch, already mentioned, authorizing the provinces to go ahead when they wished with negotiations for union.¹³ Enough has now been said to make it clear that one of the things accounting for his changed attitude since he had turned down Galt's overtures early in 1860 was the interest and the influence of London financial men, the Barings and the Glyns and other concerned with British North American affairs.

Negotiations among the provinces were resumed in September at Quebec, where Watkin brought optimistic views from London and agreement was reached as to the respective shares of the provinces in building the Intercolonial. Various related questions were also discussed. Political union, it was decided, had best wait until the Intercolonial Railway should have prepared public opinion for it by increasing intercourse among the provinces. A tariff union, although impracticable for the present, would, it was felt, be an "indispensable consequence" of the building of the Intercolonial. The Canadians were less keen than the Maritime delegates for the Intercolonial, but were willing to support it if their expenditures upon it might be counted at London as a contribution for defense, and if, along with it, they could secure aid for establishing communications westward.¹⁴

Once more the scene shifted to London, where, as before, private finance was involved as well as the Colonial Office. Watkin continued

¹² J. H. Gray, *Confederation* (Toronto, 1872), pp. 160ff.

¹³ Newcastle to Mulgrave, N.Sc. No. 182, 6 July 1862, Sir J. Pope, *Confederation Documents* (Toronto, 1895), pp. 303ff. A few weeks later the Colonial Secretary urged a uniform system of militia training and organization for the provinces.—Newcastle to Monck, No. 163, 21 Aug. 1862, *G168. Printed in Br. Parl. Pap.*, 1862, [3061], pp. 40ff.

¹⁴ Trotter, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 196f.

to work hard both for the Intercolonial project and for "Northwest Transit." Negotiations in regard to the former again fell through, this time because the Canadians balked at the British Government's stipulation of a sinking fund as a condition of its giving a guarantee. As for opening a line of communication across western British America, Thomas Baring would not be persuaded that the project was essential to the welfare of the Grand Trunk, despite Watkin's efforts to convince him that "under present circumstances in the province of Canada" the Intercolonial, which he deemed absolutely essential to the Grand Trunk, was "dependent upon this other movement."¹⁵ Plans were nevertheless drawn up, at a meeting with the Canadian delegates, held at the bank of Messrs. Glyn, for a company to construct a telegraph line and wagon road to the Pacific.^{15a} Efforts were made to secure aid from the British Government, by guarantee, or at least in the way of land, but to no avail. Downing Street would give no aid beyond recommending to the colonial governments concerned, Canada, British Columbia, and Vancouver Island, that they join in guaranteeing the necessary loan.¹⁶ The most that the Hudson's Bay Company could be persuaded to do for the project was provide a right of way, but in the course of discussions it developed that it was not averse to selling out altogether. Watkin and his associates, finding it impossible to induce the British Government to become the purchaser, decided to take over the company themselves. Thomas Baring and the elder Glyn held off from a move with no more government backing than these Northwest schemes had, but virtually the rest of the group went ahead with the purchase and took over control of the company. The new proprietors were to carry on the existing trade under the charter, but planned to administer the company's affairs "on such principles as to allow the gradual settlement of such portions of the territory as admitted of it, and facilitate the communication across British North America by telegraph or otherwise."¹⁷ It turned out, however, that even with the Hudson's Bay Company in hands desiring to speed the opening of the Northwest there were too many parties involved and too many questions to be dealt with to permit rapid headway being made.

Watkin spent much of the summer of 1863 in Canada working in the interests of the new Hudson's Bay Company, but for the time being his plans miscarried. Nor, as president of the Grand Trunk, was he able in the following months to accomplish much of consequence in that concern's interest in the east. Western projects and Intercolonial Railway were alike still pretty well up in the air when political crisis in 1864 made federation the issue of the hour.¹⁸

Just as soon as it appeared that the federation proposal of provincial leaders held promise not only of a new political vitality and unified effectiveness in British North America but of a quickened economic life as well, British investors with a stake in the country rallied to its support. The weighty influence of British finance was thrown wholeheartedly into the scale, to the intense disgust of the foes of federation.¹⁹

¹⁵ Watkin to Thomas Baring, 4 Nov. 1862, and Nov. [1862], (endorsed "R 8 Nov."), also Geo. G. Glyn to Thomas Baring, 4 Nov. [1862], and 5 Nov. 1862, *Baring Papers*.

^{15a} Watkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 97ff.

¹⁶ Watkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 109ff.

¹⁷ Head to Newcastle, 3 July 1863, *Br. Parl. Pap.*, 1863, No. 438, p. 17. On the purchase, etc., see Watkin, *op. cit.*, chs. VIII and XI.

¹⁸ Trotter, *op. cit.*, pp. 207ff., 275ff.

¹⁹ E.g.: Dorion in *Confederation Debates* (Quebec, 1865), pp. 250f., 263; E. G. Penny, *The Proposed British North American Confederation: Why It Should Not Be Imposed upon the Colonies by Imperial Legislation* (Montreal, 1867); J. A. Chisholm, ed., *Speeches and Public Letters of Joseph Howe* (2 vols., Halifax, 1909), II, 530.

It strengthened the hand of Downing Street, which under successive ministries, Liberal and Conservative, made persistent efforts to secure acceptance of union in the hesitating Lower Provinces. The British North American Association established in 1862 had rather petered out during the period when railway and other negotiations had hung fire in the provinces,²⁰ but now it proved a valuable means of rallying support in London to the federation cause when that was under fire from Howe's mission of protest.²¹ The British North America Act, and the accompanying Canada Railway Loan Act to guarantee a Dominion loan for building the Intercolonial, were passed in the British Parliament with comparatively little discussion, but when John Bright in the Commons assumed the role of spokesman for the protesting delegation it was E. W. Watkin, M.P. who undertook to refute him.²² The next year, when the repeal agitation occasioned further debate, Tupper, who was in London to see that no harm was done, seems to have relied no less upon Watkin than upon members of the Government for the defense of Confederation. At any rate he supplied Watkin as well as the Solicitor-General with a brief for his speech.²³ The acquisition of the Northwest by the young Dominion was undoubtedly facilitated and hastened by the fact that the men now in control of the Hudson's Bay Company, while naturally insistent that the Company's rights should receive adequate recognition, were nevertheless thoroughly in sympathy with the ideal of extending communication and settlement in the Northwest.

The foregoing account has made clear, I hope, some aspects of the British contribution to the federation movement. That contribution has sometimes hardly received its full recognition. In regard to it one thing is certain: the official attitude and participation of the British Government are only a part of the chapter. It is true that the provinces had their close and important relations with Downing Street, whose aid and counsel they invoked and whose wishes were not to be lightly regarded; but if London was the political capital of the British world it was also the financial capital, and provincial governments no less than the Imperial Government found their policies affected, and sometimes determined, by the views of financiers, private promoters of Empire, with whom they had constant and important dealings.

Do not mistake my emphasis. I would not, in what has been said, belittle the part played in the federation movement by provincial leaders, those whom an honoring tradition styles the "Fathers of Confederation." Their work was essential and fundamental. They pioneered for the ideal when that still required vision. When at last the opportune crisis came in provincial affairs, they seized the chance, and, with a high determination to hammer out their differences, they wrought compromise after compromise upon the anvil of necessity, shaping the federation scheme with a keen recognition of local and British North American needs,

²⁰ Jos. Nelson to Howe, 23 Jan. 1864, *Howe Papers*, IV, 13ff.

²¹ Trotter, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

²² Watkin opposed Bright's view that the colonies might as well be let go. He said that "the British Empire was one and indivisible or it was nothing."—*Hansard*, 3d Ser. 185, pp. 1188f. J. McCully of the Nova Scotia delegation, in a "private" postscript to Thomas Baring, April, 1867, expresses gratification that the railway guarantee "has been so handsomely sustained and successfully disposed of. We all feel," he continues, "that your influence has contributed very largely in bringing about this successful result which puts on the top stone of Confederation. Allow me in closing to return my very sincere thanks as one of the Delegates for your kind unremitting attention during our protracted stay in London."—*Baring Papers*.

I, 178.

²³ E. M. Saunders, *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Tupper* (2 vols., London, 1916),

and "building for the future even better than they knew." And the circumstances which rallied to their aid were manifold. Besides the internal political and economic needs of the provinces there were the fears engendered locally by the American Civil War and its aftermath. There was the war's influence upon the British Government in impelling it to welcome a lightening of its own burdens, by the substitution of one strong government for the several weak ones with which it found dealings so complicated and uncertain. But, when that has all been said, this still remains: federation found strong support from men in Britain, of extensive interests and powerful influence, who welcomed it because they believed that it promised for British North America the political stability and the economic security without which existing enterprises must remain in jeopardy and future developments be limited and uncertain. They, too, deserve their meed of recognition at this time of celebration. Without their sympathy and assistance, interested it is true, but, for all that, wide-visioned and of inestimable value to the movement, the story of Confederation would have been a very different tale.

DEUX APPRÉCIATIONS SOMMAIRES DE LA CONFÉDÉRATION ¹

PAR GUSTAVE LANCTOT

I

LA CONFÉDÉRATION

Produit logique du milieu et du moment, la Confédération canadienne fut la meilleure solution des difficultés d'une époque: en lieu et place de faméliques provinces, sans cohésion ni prestige, elle créa, véritable nation, une nouvelle entité géographique et politique, tout en sauvegardant le caractère ethnique de Québec.

L'idée d'une fédération canadienne date de fort loin, puisqu'elle fit son apparition dès 1684 et à de multiples reprises depuis cette époque, tant elle semblait une nécessité des circonstances économiques et territoriales. Mais toujours repris, le projet s'ajournait chaque fois devant les inextricables complications des intérêts et des partis en présence. Enfin, le moment vint, vers 1860, où tout se disposa pour sa réussite. A cette date, les cinq provinces qui se partageaient la moitié du pays, de l'océan aux grands lacs, s'agitaient sous l'étreinte d'une double crise, surtout économique dans la Nouvelle-Ecosse, le Nouveau-Brunswick et l'Île du Prince-Edouard, et surtout politique dans le Bas et le Haut-Canada.

Dans les provinces du golfe, en même temps qu'il s'insurgeait contre le fardeau superflu de trois législatures, le citoyen revendiquait le libre échange interprovincial. Enfin, mécontent de la perte du commerce américain, par l'abrogation du traité de réciprocité, il réclamait des voies de communication afin d'atteindre les marchés des provinces centrales.

Au Canada, deux provinces, antagonistes de race et de religion, se cabraient sous un régime d'union imposé de haute main. Le désaccord des esprits et des buts se compliquait du grief de l'égalité de leur représentation malgré l'inégalité de leur population. Stipulée au début pour le bénéfice du Haut-Canada, cette parité de la représentation tournait maintenant à l'avantage de Québec, dépassé en population du fait de l'émigration anglo-saxonne. A l'irritation des Ontariens de ne pouvoir modifier à leur profit le quotient électoral, s'ajoutait la colère d'être mis en échec par une province catholique. Divisée en deux camps à peu près égaux, la législature, incapable de grouper une majorité, piétinait sur place. A peine formés, les ministères culbutaient, dix en dix ans, et deux élections générales n'avaient pu instaurer la stabilité parlementaire.

Dans ce chaos économique et politique, une seule solution se présentait: l'union des provinces. Cette solution, des circonstances additionnelles tendaient à la rendre encore plus impérative; les Etats-Unis se refusaient au renouvellement du traité de réciprocité, parlaient de fermer leurs ports au commerce transitaire canadien et prononçaient même le mot d'annexion.

¹ Les deux essais qui suivent figurèrent, sous le pseudonymat, au concours organisé par le Comité national pour la célébration du jubilé de la Confédération. Tous deux furent primés, le premier reçut la médaille d'or et le second la médaille d'argent. Leur publication sous le nom de leur auteur ne peut manquer d'intéresser le lecteur dans ce rapport de la Société spécialement consacré à la Confédération. Mais il faut se rappeler que chaque essai devait se limiter à mille mots.

Telle était la situation en 1864, quand les provinces maritimes se donnèrent rendez-vous à Charlottetown, dans l'intention de se former en union législative. Déjà, de leur côté, les chefs canadiens avaient, en conciliabule, pris la décision de tenter une fédération des provinces ou, sinon, de fédéraliser, du moins, les deux Canadas.

Admis à la réunion de Charlottetown, les délégués canadiens, Macdonald, Cartier, Brown et Galt, formulèrent le credo fédéraliste: créer, avec cinq groupements isolés, impotents et fragmentaires, une entité nouvelle qui fut, sous l'égide de la mère-patrie, un peuple homogène par le territoire, par les institutions et par l'œuvre commune. Aux Maritimes, l'union procurerait le marché canadien et le chemin de fer qui supprimerait leur isolement. Pour le Canada, l'union mettrait fin à leur impasse politique et leur ouvrirait deux portes sur l'Atlantique, Halifax et Saint-Jean. Fort d'une population doublée et de ressources décuplées, le nouveau pays pourrait prétendre à faire figure dans le monde international et prendre lui-même la défense de son territoire.

Autour du projet canadien, l'accord se fit unanime et Tupper, Tilley et Gray se donnèrent la mission d'y convertir chacun sa province. En octobre, à Québec, les délégués se réunissaient de nouveau, cette fois poussant plus loin, pour jeter les bases de la future constitution. La convention fit un travail énorme et consciencieux. Rejetant l'union législative, elle posa le principe de la fédération. Ensuite, elle établit un par un les articles de la charte. Le mérite de ce grand œuvre fut, par un départage judicieux des attributions administratives, de fonder, sans pour cela anémier les provinces, une autorité centrale active et forte; d'utiliser les initiatives particularistes sans paralyser l'administration générale et finalement de respecter les droits communautaires sans entraver les aspirations nationales, en somme, ce fut de bâtir sur le passé en orientant le pays vers l'avenir.

Tel que rédigé par les pères de la confédération, le projet parut viable et solide. Approuvé par les chefs, il fut repris et précisé à la conférence de Londres, en 1866, mais cette fois, autour de la table des délibérations, ne figuraient ni Terre-Neuve, ni l'Ile du Prince-Edouard. Acceptée par le Parlement anglais, la constitution reçut la signature royale. Le premier juillet 1867, naissait, au soleil du monde politique, un pays nouveau qui avait nom la Puissance du Canada.

Soixante ans ont passé. En dépit de mécomptes inévitables en toute entreprise humaine, mécontentement des provinces maritimes, réclamations des provinces occidentales, difficultés scolaires à l'est et à l'ouest, les résultats ont passé les plus hautes espérances. Au lieu de quatre, le Canada groupe aujourd'hui neuf provinces. Décuplé, son territoire s'étend de l'Atlantique au Pacifique, des grands lacs au pôle nord. Triplée, sa population de dix millions, de race instruite et forte, ambitieuse et libre, monte journellement par la route du travail et du vouloir, à l'assaut des richesses matérielles et d'une civilisation plus haute, en même temps qu'une élite sans cesse grossissante, sortie des écoles et des universités, suit la voie de la science, de la littérature et des arts. Aujourd'hui, le pays inconnu de 1867 atteint aux premiers rangs dans le monde de la production et du commerce. Aujourd'hui le Canada est une entité mondiale qui a sa place à la Société des Nations.

Dans cette œuvre de la Confédération à quoi revient la part de la province de Québec? Avec son représentant, Cartier, elle fut l'ouvrière active et loyale, sans le concours de qui la réussite eut été impossible. D'abord, par son inflexible fermeté, elle imposa l'adoption du principe fédératif qui, sauvegardant son entité française et catholique lui permettait

de se développer selon ses traditions nationales. Ces conditions essentielles de sa permanence, elle les obtint de haute lutte en faisant admettre l'égalité de la langue française et le maintien de ses lois civiles. De plus, elle fit reconnaître des droits égaux aux catholiques et attribuer aux provinces le contrôle exclusif de l'éducation. Voilà la contribution magnifique des délégués canadiens-français. Par ces clauses, ils avaient assuré notre foi et notre langue, nos écoles et nos lois! Si plus tard, des législatures ont méconnu et enfreint certains de ces droits, ayons la franchise et l'honnêteté de ne pas en accuser les pères dont on a violé les stipulations et les volontés, mais bien les fils qui ont, les uns, commis et, les autres, permis ces infractions. La Confédération, la justice oblige à le proclamer, a sauvé Québec de l'absorption législative et de l'assimilation nationale. Seule, en créant une province française, maîtresse chez soi, elle a permis à un million de Canadiens-français de devenir deux millions de citoyens, arbitres de leurs destinées, catholiques de foi, français d'esprit et canadiens de patriotisme, peuple en marche vers une destinée incoercible, digne de son origine et de son histoire.

II

QUÉBEC ET LA CONFÉDÉRATION

Des différentes chartes, cinq en cent ans, qui de 1754 à 1867, ont régi le Québec, la constitution fédérale est la seule que la province se soit volontairement donnée. Plus que cela, elle fut l'une des collaboratrices qui la formulèrent. Or, aujourd'hui, soixante ans plus tard, pesant les circonstances contemporaines et comparant les résultats acquis, la conclusion s'impose que les mandataires du Québec ont posé là l'indestructible assise de la permanence du Canada français.

Comme mise au point, que l'on dresse le tableau politique du moment. Imposée avec le but d'angliciser l'élément français, une Union gouverne le pays, Union où les Bas-Canadiens sont fatalement voués à représenter la minorité, puisque, sur les questions de race et de religion, les députés anglais du Québec se rangeront avec les députés du Haut-Canada. Dans cette enceinte parlementaire, le groupe orangiste, sous Brown, assaille inlassablement le catholicisme de Québec et, par contrecoup, ses institutions. Un moment, nos écoles ont failli subir l'assaut d'un ministère unioniste. Ainsi Québec est à la merci d'une attaque. Chaque année en grandit le danger, car, fort de la supériorité de sa population, le Haut-Canada réclame que la représentation parlementaire se base à l'avenir sur la population. Dans cette situation menaçante, aucune stabilité n'existe. Incapables de grouper les tendances, les cabinets, dans l'ambiance anarchique de la double majorité, ne durent qu'une heure, paralysés entre deux antagonismes de force égale, face à la crise inéluctable.

Le problème de l'avenir se pose impératif. Les solutions possibles, les voici: le *statu quo*, régime contre-nature, qui avec la modification du quotient parlementaire, mène à la servitude; le retour à 1791, irréalisable, parce que l'Angleterre n'acceptera point de faire du Haut-Canada, le tributaire douanier de Québec; la fédération bipartite des Canadas, formule comportant les risques du *statu quo*, sans les bénéfices d'une confédération; enfin la confédération des provinces, qui offre la certitude de l'autonomie nationale avec les avantages d'un pays décuplé.

Sans hésiter, les mandataires de Québec allèrent à la Confédération. Détenteurs de l'âme du peuple, ils exigèrent qu'en la charte nouvelle s'inscrivit le décalogue de ses droits intangibles. Contre l'union législative, sim-

ple creuset d'assimilation, ils forcèrent l'adoption de la fédération avec son autonomie provinciale. Ils imposèrent ensuite les conditions inaliénables de la nationalité: égalité des droits religieux, même pour les minorités; reconnaissance officielle de la langue française; contrôle de l'éducation réservé aux provinces; conservation des lois françaises, y compris celles du mariage; enfin maintien, en tout le pays, des privilèges scolaires reconnus. Tous les droits essentiels de la nationalité sont là, protégés, en outre, par l'appel à la loi remédiatrice au cas de violation.

Posé carrément devant l'opinion québécoise, ce pacte eut vite fait de conquérir l'élite sérieuse, moins préoccupée de revendications sonores que de résultats positifs où s'assurerait l'avenir. Contre elle, s'archoutèrent seulement les radicaux sous Dorion et quelques jeunes gens, en somme plus de passion que de vision. Discrètement, en général, mais moralement et puissamment, le clergé, dont toute l'œuvre était remise en question, fit bloc en faveur du projet qui nous libérerait de la géhenne unioniste pour instaurer, en pleine maîtrise de ses destinées, l'âme catholique et française de tout un peuple. Et 53 députés de Québec sur les 65 l'approuvèrent.

Et maintenant venons aux résultats de la Confédération. Qui peut honnêtement nier qu'elle n'ait même dépassé les espérances de ses fondateurs? Elle a fait de Québec la magnifique illustration qu'il présente d'une race opérant chaque jour le miracle de sa survivance, grâce aux seules forces nationales de sa foi et de ses traditions. Aujourd'hui, deux millions de Français, se gouvernant eux-mêmes, détenant la plus grande province du pays, croissent et progressent dans tous les domaines de l'activité humaine, fidèles à leur passé et seuls artisans de leur avenir.

Dans le Québec, la Confédération, et c'était là le but primordial de ses mandataires, a réalisé tout ce qu'on réclamait, et la législature provinciale le déclarait elle-même, en 1918, par le vote quasi-unanime de ses représentants. De là, il ne s'ensuit pas que son œuvre ait toujours et partout été parfaite. Des droits ont été violés, des injustices commises. Plusieurs provinces, entre autres, la Nouvelle-Ecosse et la Colombie, ont même discuté la question de leur sécession. Des minorités françaises ont plusieurs fois connu des dénis de justice. Mais pour ces mécomptes, inséparables de toute œuvre humaine, faut-il démolir l'œuvre qui a fait le Canada d'aujourd'hui. Il suffit de se rappeler que, sans la Confédération, ces mêmes faits se seraient produits et que, grâce à elle, ils ont été moins fréquents et moins graves.

Surtout il ne faut pas oublier que, si les droits du français ont été trop inexplicitement formulés dans le pacte organique, il faut s'en prendre, non aux hommes, mais à l'époque. En 1867, la question de la langue ne se posait pas. Le français avait droit de cité partout. Toute la lutte se faisait autour de la religion, et c'est à sa défense que se vouèrent nos délégués. De fait, la préoccupation religieuse domine le pacte. On n'y parle pas d'écoles françaises, mais bien d'écoles religieuses. L'offensive contre la langue est un produit d'un autre temps que nos représentants ne prévoyaient pas, confiants qu'ils étaient d'avoir mis le français en sûreté sous la clause qui lui confère l'égalité officielle. Ce point leur semblant inattaquable, c'est sur la défense de la foi qu'ils concentrèrent leurs efforts. Est-ce une erreur d'avoir été plus catholique que français à une époque où leur langue ne rencontrait aucun adversaire?

Récemment, une manie s'est introduite de blâmer la Confédération de tous les avatars survenus depuis 1867. Ce procédé rappelle l'ancienne chanson "C'est la faute à Papineau", façon Ponce-Pilatesque de se laver les mains de ses propres erreurs. Si, à certaines heures, nous n'avons pas su

faire le bloc intangible de la résistance autour des chefs, ne commettons pas l'ingratitude, nous les bénéficiaires de leur labeur, de faire remonter jusqu'aux pères, soixante ans en arrière, nos mésaventures.

Des droits par eux transmis, sachons être les intransigeants défenseurs, exigeant l'exécution intégrale du pacte organique. Mais autour du grand œuvre qu'ils ont édifié d'une forteresse française et catholique, assurant notre permanence ethnique, sachons saluer en eux les fondateurs de notre vie nationale, fondateurs qui ont magnifiquement mérité de la patrie de Québec.

SOME HISTORIC AND PRE-HISTORIC SITES OF CANADA

BY

THE CANADIAN NATIONAL PARKS BRANCH

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Very favourable progress was made during the past year in connection with the acquisition and marking of historic sites of national importance throughout the Dominion, on the recommendation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. Since the inception of this work in 1919 one hundred and thirteen sites have been acquired and eighty-three marked by the erection of memorials. A bronze tablet of a very artistic design, symbolic of Canada, bears the historic data pertaining to the event being commemorated. Where no suitable remains exist on the site on which to place the tablet, an inexpensive standard in the form of a cobble-stone cairn or large boulder is erected to carry it.

At important sites acquired, permanent caretakers are engaged to supervise the site and buildings and to carry out repairs necessary. At smaller sites, part-time caretakers, resident in the immediate vicinity, are engaged to supervise them.

Ready co-operation has been accorded the department in this national undertaking by local historical societies and affiliated organizations.

A summary of the past year's operations is enumerated hereunder.

SITES MARKED

In addition to those mentioned in previous reports of the association, the following memorials were erected during 1926:—

MARITIME PROVINCES

Louisbourg, Cape Breton

A cairn and tablet were placed on the historic site property controlled at that place to mark the site of King's Bastion, which in olden days was the entrance to the fortress and which contained the Governor's residence, barracks and chapel. Adjoining it was the Place d'Armes. The unveiling was carried out on August 10 with appropriate ceremonies.

Fort Nashwaak, Devon, N.B.

A cairn and tablet were placed in the small park facing Gibson street to mark the site of the fort erected by Governor Villebon at the junction of the St. John and Nashwaak rivers in 1692. Many raids were directed from it against New England by the French, one of which resulted in the capture of Fort William Henry at Pemaquid, in August, 1696. Fort Nashwaak was abandoned by the French in 1698.

Bathurst, N.B. (Nicolas Denys)

A cairn and tablet were erected on a plot of land at the intersection of Main and Murray streets, which was provided by the town, to commemorate the public services of Nicolas Denys, who, in 1654, was

appointed Governor and Lieutenant-General of the Coasts and Islands of the Gulf of St. Lawrence from Canso to Gaspé. He was one of the pioneers in trade and the fishing industry, a naturalist and an author of a classical work on Acadia. His chief residence was at Point au Père, where he died and was buried in 1688.

QUEBEC

Fort Lennox, Ile-aux-Noix

A tablet was placed on the outer wall at the north entrance to the fort marking the site as one of the gateways to Canada and an advance post against Iroquois and other invaders. The fort was built by the French before 1759 and additional works added in 1775. The whole place was rebuilt by the Imperial authorities from 1812 to 1827 and the several massive stone buildings are in a remarkable state of preservation.

Fort St. Jean, St. Johns

A boulder and tablet were placed on the military reserve, facing Champlain street, to mark the site of the fort constructed there in 1748, by M. de Lery. This post was for a long time the rendezvous for all military expeditions towards lake Champlain. It was destroyed in 1760 to prevent the British from capturing it. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Fort Three Rivers, Three Rivers

A boulder and tablet was placed on a plot of land near the Customs building, to mark the site of the fort which was built there in 1634 and which later became the cradle of Three Rivers and a centre for fur trade with the Indians. It was besieged on many occasions by the Iroquois and demolished after the treaty of peace with them in 1668.

Fort de Maisonneuve, Montreal

A tablet was placed on the outer wall at the right hand entrance to the Customs building, which now stands on the site of the fort built there in 1645 by Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve, and which is recognized as the birthplace of Montreal.

St. Louis de Blandford, near Arthabaska

A tablet was supplied those locally interested for placement on a memorial cairn which was being erected to commemorate the founding of the settlement there by Charles Heon in March, 1825.

ONTARIO

Fort de Lévis, Adam's Point, East of Prescott

A cairn and tablet were erected on a small plot of land, adjacent to the Montreal-Toronto highway, donated by Mr. James Adams, to mark the site of the fort constructed by Captain François Pouchot in the spring and early summer of 1760. Its garrison was forced to surrender, after a gallant defence, on August 25, 1760, to the British army commanded by Sir Jeffrey Amherst. Siege batteries were established on Adams point and island. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on August 25 in accordance with arrangements made by the Prescott Board of Trade. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Fort Cataracqui or Frontenac, Kingston

A tablet was affixed to the southern wall of the entrance gate to Tête du Pont Barracks to mark the site of the fort erected there in July, 1673, by Count de Frontenac and which was rebuilt by La Salle in 1675. For many years it was the key to the west, the base of La Salle's explorations and a French outpost against the Iroquois and British.

Richmond (Death of the Duke of Richmond)

A cairn and tablet were erected on a plot of land adjacent to the highway from Bell's Corners to Richmond, which was donated by Mr. Samuel Mann, in memory of the services, self-devotion and tragic death of Charles Lennox, Fourth Duke of Richmond, who died there on August 28, 1819. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on August 28 in accordance with arrangements made by the municipal councils of the village of Richmond and the township of Nepean. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Rideau Canal, Ottawa

A tablet was affixed to the central pillar of the bridge over the canal on the north side of Connaught Place, to commemorate the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of its construction under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel John By, R.E., in September, 1826. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on August 19 under the auspices of the Ottawa Women's Canadian Historical Society.

Fort Wellington, Prescott

A tablet was affixed to the outer entrance wall bearing the historic events associated with the fort which was constructed in 1812-13 by the British as a main post for the defence of the communication between Kingston and Montreal. This Fort received its name in honour of the victory gained at Salamanca on July 22, 1812. The tablet was unveiled on August 25 with appropriate ceremonies arranged for by the Prescott Board of Trade and Women's Institute.

Port Talbot

A cairn and tablet were erected on a plot of land immediately adjacent to the Talbot Road, which was donated by the Talbot Estates, to commemorate the historic events associated with that place and the founding of the settlement by Colonel Thomas Talbot on May 21, 1803. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on June 30 in accordance with arrangements made by the Elgin Historical and Scientific Institute.

Ottawa (Allan R. Crawford)

A tablet was erected inside the entrance to the Public Archives building in commemoration of the valour and sacrifice of Allan Rudyard Crawford, Commander and Scientist of an Arctic Expedition to Wrangel Island, 1921-23.

Ottawa (Arctic Expedition)

A tablet was affixed to the inner entrance wall of the Public Archives building to the memory of those who perished in the Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913-18.

Fort William

A cairn and tablet were erected in Heath Street Park commemorating the early historic events associated with that city. The mouth of the Kaministiquia, for ages the gateway of canoe traffic with the interior, became later the lake terminal of great transcontinental railways.

Waterloo Pioneers, Kitchener

A tablet was supplied the Waterloo Historical Society for placement on the memorial tower which they erected to commemorate the founding of the settlement there in 1800 by Joseph Schoerg and Samuel Betzner, Jr. The unveiling ceremonies were carried out on August 25, 1926, under the auspices of the above Society.

WESTERN CANADA

Fort Walsh, near Maple Creek, Sask.

A cairn and tablet were erected on lot 1, group 17, in the northeast corner of section 21, township 7, range 29, west of the 3rd meridian, to mark the site of Fort Walsh, an old Northwest Mounted Police post, established in 1875. It was the headquarters of Commissioner Irvine until December, 1882, when the post was removed to Maple Creek.

Fort Macleod, Macleod, Alta.

A cairn and tablet were placed on the Public Works Reserve, adjacent to Twenty-third street, to commemorate the arrival of the Northwest Mounted Police, in October, 1874, and the building of the fort on the island immediately to the northeast of the town. Their coming brought law and order into a wild and lawless country.

Fort Edmonton (Augustus), Alta.

A cairn and tablet were placed on the surveyed road allowance passing through river lot 8, Fort Saskatchewan Settlement, to mark the site of Fort Augustus, established by the Northwest Company in 1794 and Fort Edmonton, established by the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1795. Rivals in trade, allies in danger, these companies carried the flag and commerce of Britain from the shores of the Atlantic ocean and Hudson bay, to the Pacific and Arctic oceans. Both forts were abandoned in 1807. Part-time caretaker appointed.

Bella Coola, B.C. (Sir Alexander Mackenzie)

A large memorial shaft to which is affixed a bronze tablet was erected on lot 1361, range 3, Coast district, Bella Coola, which was recently identified without doubt as the western terminal of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's transcontinental voyage across North America. He with his nine companions arrived at this spot on July 21, 1793. A facsimile of the inscription he wrote on the rock was embedded therein in cement.

ACQUISITION AND PRESERVATION OF SITES

Control of a number of other historic properties, deemed by the board to be of national importance, was obtained and preservation work to prevent further deterioration carried out at a number of sites or structures previously acquired, as follows:—

MARITIME PROVINCES

Fort Cumberland, N.B., near Sackville

Repairs were made on the walls of the old powder magazine, the English entrenchments cleared of debris, a flag pole erected and other minor improvements completed. The site of the fort with adjacent lands was created a national historic park.

St. John, N.B. (First Marine Compound Engine)

Permission has been granted by the Department of Public Works to place a tablet on the pilaster at the entrance to the Customs building to commemorate the invention of the Compound Steam Engine, by Benjamin Tibbitts, in 1842.

St. John, N.B. (First Steam Fog Alarm)

Permission has been granted by the Department of Public Works to place a tablet on the exterior entrance to the Customs building to commemorate the invention of the First Steam Fog Alarm, by Robert Foulis, in 1854.

Canso, N.S.

The town of Canso has executed a lease of occupation covering a site on which it is proposed to erect a cairn and tablet to mark the site of Fort Canso, built by the British in 1720 and which was the scene of several combats between them and the French and Indians.

King's College, Windsor, N.S.

A lease of occupation was executed by the Board of Governors granting permission to place a tablet on the chapel, which now stands on the site of the original college, the oldest university in the King's overseas dominions, founded in 1789.

QUEBEC

Fort Chambly, Chambly.

Considerable repairs were made on the walls of the old stores, buttress walls, etc., and a cement coping placed on them; the roof and wall of the dungeon and powder magazine were re-sheathed and painted and the masonry re-pointed. In the old cemetery the grounds were levelled, the fence repaired and sundial reset.

Fort Lennox, Ile-aux-Noix

Further preservation work was carried out on the several stone buildings on the site, including repairs to masonry, painting of roofs, doors and windows, replacement of sash and glass, construction and replacement of eave troughs, etc.

ONTARIO

Fort Wellington, Prescott

The outer and inner palisades were repaired and replaced where necessary, a water supply system installed, a new fence constructed around the north and east sides of the property and general repairs carried out on the masonry and woodwork of the blockhouse.

Fort St. Joe, St. Joseph's Island

Considerable restoration work was carried out on the old ruins including the pointing of the masonry on the chimney, magazine and ovens and recoping them.

McKee's Point, Sandwich

Permission was granted by the town of Sandwich for the erection of a cairn and tablet on a triangular plot of land at the intersection of Sandwich and Main streets to mark the site of the embarkation of General Brock's troops to capture Detroit in 1812.

Point de Meuron, near Fort William

A plot of land was donated to the department by Col. S. C. Young on which to erect a memorial to mark the site of the Kaministiquia Portage which was used by early traders and explorers.

Toronto. (First Electric Telegraph Line)

Permission has been granted by the civic authorities to place a tablet on the wall of the old City Hall, on the south side of Front street, to mark the spot from which the first electric telegrams were exchanged with an office in Hamilton, which was the other terminal.

WESTERN CANADA

Fort Langley, Langley, B.C.

Repairs to prevent further deterioration were carried out on the original old log building on the site. These included the clinking and plastering of the openings between the logs, construction of stairs, laying of floors, whitewashing, etc.

Nanaimo, B.C.

The city of Nanaimo has granted permission for the erection of a memorial on Dallas Square to mark the site of the first coal mine in British Columbia.

Gleichen, Alta. (Indian Treaty No. 7)

The Department of Indian Affairs has provided a site adjacent to the main highway, which area was surrendered by the Indians, on which to erect a cairn and tablet to mark the spot on which Indian Treaty Number 7 was signed.

Fort La Reine, Portage la Prairie, Man.

The civic authorities have, by license of occupation, provided a site on parish lot 22 on which to erect a memorial to mark the site of Fort La Reine built by La Vérendrye in 1738.

WORK FOR THE FUTURE

The following sites have been considered of national importance by the Board and will be commemorated in due course:—

First Post Office in British North America, Halifax, N.S.

Battle of Grand Pré, near Grand Pré, N.S.

Yorkshire Settlement, Chignecto, N.S.

Joseph Wallet des Barres, Sydney, N.S.

Fort La Have, N.S.

Admiral d'Anville's Encampment, Bedford Basin, N.S.

Tonge's Island, N.B.

Sir Howard Douglas, Fredericton, N.B.

Battle of de Repentigny, near Charlemagne, P.Q.

Jacques Cartier's Landing, Gaspé, P.Q.

Second Battle of Châteauguay, near Allan's Corners, P.Q.

Ile-aux-Coudres, near Baie St. Paul, P.Q.

Temiscouata Portage Route, Cabano, P.Q.

First Paper Mill in Canada, St. Andrews, P.Q.

First Steamship in Canada, Montreal, P.Q.

Lachine Massacre, Lachine, P.Q.

First Railroad in Canada, St. Johns, P.Q.

Champlain's Landing, Allumette Island, P.Q.

Battle of Two Mountains, near Rivière des Prairies, P.Q.

Fort Coteau du Lac, near Coteau, P.Q.

Battle of Fort Lennox, Ile-aux-Noix, P.Q.

Southwold Earthworks, near St. Thomas, Ont.

Mission of Ste. Marie I, near Midland, Ont.

Action at House of Thomas McCrae, near Chatham, Ont.

Nanticoke, Ont.

Vrooman's Battery, near Queenston, Ont.

Ridgeway Battlefield, near Ridgeway, Ont.

Weishuhn's Redoubt, near Willoughby, Ont.

Navy Island Shipyard, near Chippawa, Ont.

Battle of the Longwoods, near Wardsville, Ont.

Battle of York, Toronto, Ont.

Point Pelee, near Leamington, Ont.

Montreal-Lake Huron Portage Route, Mattawa, Ont.

Glengarry Landing, near Edenvale, Ont.

Montgomery's Tavern, Toronto, Ont.

Point au Baril, Maitland, Ont.

Fort Norfolk, Turkey Point, Ont.

Port Dover, Ont. (Starting Point Brock's Expedition 1812).

Bishop John Strachan, Cornwall, Ont.

First Salt Works in Canada, near St. Catharines, Ont.

First Petroleum Wells, near Bothwell, Ont.

Fugitive Slave Movement, Windsor, Ont.

Sir Charles Bagot, Kingston, Ont.

Lord Sydenham, Kingston, Ont.

Butler's Burying Ground, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.

Normandale Blast Furnaces, Tilsonburg, Ont.

Indian Treaty, Lower Fort Garry, near Winnipeg, Man.

Duck Lake Battlefield, near Duck Lake, Sask.

Battle of Fish Creek, near Rosthern, Sask.

Fort Cumberland, Cumberland House, Sask.

Fort à la Corne, near Prince Albert, Sask.
Jasper House, near Jasper, Alta.
Rocky Mountain House, near Red Deer, Alta.
Henry House, Alta.
First Coal Mine in Alberta, Lethbridge, Alta.
Barkerville, B.C.
Fort Alexandria, Alexandria, B.C.
Fort Hope, Hope, B.C.
Fort Steele, B.C.
Yukon Gold Discovery.

LIST OF MEMBERS AND AFFILIATED ASSOCIATIONS

(A) AFFILIATED SOCIETIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

- Acadia University Library, Wolfville, N.S.*
- Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal.* Château de Ramzay; W. D. Lighthall, F.R.S.C., President, Montreal Trust Building, Montreal; Pemberton Smith, Treasurer, 260 St. James St., Montreal.
- Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal (Women's Branch).* Miss Dorothy A. Henecker, Secretary, 453 Mackay St., Montreal, P.Q.
- Battleford Historical Society.* Secretary, Campbell Innis, Esq., Battleford, Sask.
- British Columbia Historical Association.* President, Judge F. W. Howay, New Westminster, B.C.; J. Forsyth, Secretary, Victoria, B.C.
- Canadian Military Institute.* 245 Simcoe Street, Toronto.
- Hamilton Public Library.* Miss Lurene McDonald, Librarian, Hamilton, Ont.
- Historical Association of Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia.* Mrs. J. M. Owen, President; F. W. Harris, Vice-President; T. R. Hannington, Secretary-Treasurer, Annapolis Royal, N.S.
- Historical Society of Alberta.* Dr. A. C. Rutherford, President; W. Everard Edmonds, Secretary, 1146-91st Ave., Edmonton, Alta.
- Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery,* San Gabriel, Cal. Leslie E. Bliss Librarian.
- Kingston Historical Society.* President; J. Henry Mitchell, Secretary, Kingston, Ont.
- La Société des Arts, Sciences et Lettres (de Québec).* President: Dr. P. H. Bédard, 236 rue Saint-Jean, Québec; Secr.-correspondant: M. Georges Morisset, 43 rue des Franciscains, Québec; Trésorier: M. G.-E. Marquis, 48 rue Lockwell, Québec.
- Last Post Fund.* Sir Arthur Currie, G.C.M.G., President; Charles J. Armstrong, Honorary Secretary; Arthur H. D. Hair, Secretary-Treasurer, P.O. Box 1382, Montreal, P.Q.
- Legislative Library of Ontario.* A. F. Wilgress, Legislative Librarian, Toronto, Ont.
- Library of Parliament.* J. de L. Taché, General Librarian; Hon. Martin Burrell, Parliamentary Librarian, Ottawa, Ont.
- Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.* F. O. Judge, Hon.-Treasurer, P.O. Box 399, Quebec, P.Q.
- London and Middlesex Historical Society.* T. H. Purdom, K.C., President; Secretary, Miss Z. Fawkes, Colonial Apartments; Treasurer, Fred Landon, Western University Library.
- London Public Library.* Richard E. Crouch, Librarian, London, Ont.
- Lundy's Lane Historical Society.* J. C. Morden, Sec.-Treas., 242 Lundy's Lane, Niagara Falls S., Ont.
- McGill University Library.* Gerhard R. Lomer, M.A., Ph.D., Librarian, Montreal, P.Q.
- Niagara Historical Society.* Miss S. D. Manning, Treasurer, Niagara-on-the-lake, Ont.
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 Starnes, Lt.-Col. Cortlandt, 421 Laurier Ave. E., Ottawa.
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 Strasbourg, University of Strasbourg, Germany.
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 Thompson, R. B., University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont.
 Tilley, Leonard T. D., K.C., St. John, N.B.
 Todd, Lt.-Col. A. H., Library of Parliament, Ottawa.
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 Tombs, L. C., 503 Mount Pleasant Ave., Westmount, P.Q.
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 Wallace, Malcolm W., University College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont.
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 Weir, Dr. Stanley, 756 Sherbrooke St., W., Montreal, P.Q.
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 Williams, David, Collingwood, Ont.
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 Winslow, J. J. Fraser, Fredericton, N.B.
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 Wrong, H. H., 122 Walmer Road, Toronto, Ont.
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 Yeigh, Frank, 588 Huron St., Toronto.
 Young, Archibald Hope, Trinity College, Toronto, Ont.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1927

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand April 30, 1926..	\$ 566.62
Subscriptions received..	1,500.74
Subscriptions for 1925-26, credited 1926-27..	19.00
Transferred from David Thompson a/c \$65.55 + 65 cents interest from bank..	66.20
	<hr/> \$2,152.56 <hr/>

EXPENDITURES

Refund to Mr. Massey..50
Refund to Mr. Roy..	2.00
Secretary-Treasurer's allowance for expenses (1925-26— 1926-27)	400.00
Executive Committee's allowance for expenses (1925-26— 1926-27)	400.00
C. E. Higginbottom, auditing..	10.00
G. Lanctot, mailing leaflets..	3.00
Clerical assistance..	265.00
Postage..	26.00
Stationery..	38.53
Canadian Historical Review..	466.25
Bulletin des Recherches Historiques..	46.50
Exchange..	12.97
	<hr/> \$ 1,670.75 <hr/>
Balance on hand April 30, 1927, as per bank.....	481.81
	<hr/> \$ 2,152.56 <hr/>

Audited and found correct:

C. E. HIGGINBOTTOM,
Auditor.

C. N. COCHRANE,
Treasurer.

(35) 5 271-4-O.F.

Date Due

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NOV 27 1968			
JAN 27 1969			
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DEC 21 1971			
APR 06 1967			
FEB 05 1983			



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